DRURY COLLEGE LIBRARY
Springfield, Missouri

694
3

FORUM
Vol. CXI No. 1

The Chicago Experiment

By JOHN U. NEF
Chairman of the Committee on Social Thought, University of Chicago

Redefining the goals of American education

I

DURING the past 20 years, we Americans have begun to lose the confidence we once had in the courses we have been following in business, the professions, amusements, and in education. The once pervasive optimism in this country has changed to an almost equally pervasive pessimism about the world in general and the United States in particular. If a class of graduating students had been asked, before the outbreak of World War II, whether man's lot is happier now than it was in eighteenth century Europe, more than ninety-eight out of a hundred would have given an affirmative answer with complete assurance. Now it is by no means uncommon to find nearly half the pupils in such a class assuming that men were at least as happy in the eighteenth century.

The growing doubts we harbor about the lives we are leading have had little effect on our conduct, or on such thought as lies behind it. While pessimists are replacing optimists, the new breed is one of fatalistic pessimists. The sentimentalists talk as if the millennium could be achieved simply by speaking in favor of it. The communists talk as if the millennium could be achieved simply by giving absolute authority to a leader pledged to dispossess and shoot the rich. The very great majority of Americans, including most of the sentimentalists and the communists, never think of altering their conventional conduct in the specialized work and the specialized recreation which engage them. We do what is expected of us no matter how uneasy we become, lest the consequence of everyone's not doing what is expected of him may be the destruction of us all. This combination of worry with indifference reaches an extreme in the numerous persons who say in one breath that another world war will destroy civilization and that such a war is inevitable. The prospect of collective suicide has lost something of its absurdity in societies where individual suicide has become so prevalent and where the means of destruction seem to promise, most fallaciously, that collective suicide will be easy.

The world seems to be dividing politically into two camps. Is this not partly a result of the intellectual and spiritual poverty that have accompanied the material triumphs of the past hundred years? The result of serious thought and reflection, combined with humanity and love, might be conceivably a single faith, but it would hardly be two so-called "ways of life" here below, each bent on crushing the other out of existence.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A single formula for existence in an eternity beyond human experience is not rationally indefensible. Almost anything is possible in that eternity. As Pascal remarked, it is no more irrational to assume that eternity exists than to assume it does not. If it exists, then we may rationally suppose eternal life to be very different from the temporal life we know.

History and philosophy alike show that the conditions of human happiness on earth are many rather than one, and that diversity of experience in temporal joys and sorrows and in daily work is itself an important condition of happiness. The precise ways of living that enable men and women to fulfill their potentialities in the world they live in are as fleeting and diverse as life itself. Black or white, fascism or communism, Pan-slavism or Americanism, capitalism or socialism as the only alternatives in the temporal affairs of men and women are the result of a lack of thought, rather than wrong thought. They are the result, not of faith, love, and charity, but of spiritual nihilism and hatred. The task of education is not so much to change the thinking of the American people as to help them and other peoples throughout the world to think, and to recognize that thought and action are interdependent.

Fatalism and intolerance are near twins. They can prevail only to the extent that men and women lose their belief, their hope in the human powers of rational thought, imagination, love, and charity, the powers with which, according to the Christian faith, God has endowed human beings through minds and souls that are independent of time, space, and matter. The goal of education is to help in building up a world which provides rich alternatives to fatalism and intolerance, alternatives capable of claiming the allegiance now given only to extreme, irrational positions which set group against group, nation against nation, with a violence that our most famous eighteenth century ancestors assumed to be impossible among civilized peoples.

For many decades, the higher learning has given, in the main, a bad example. It has focused the attention of scholars and teachers upon the special and the particular, at the very period in Western history when specialization in economic, political, and artistic life has been carried to extremes unknown in earlier civilized societies. One effect has been to deprive the most gifted minds of even the normal hope of influencing men and women for the better. The subject matter which the ordinary scholar commands is usually so small and unimportant for history as to be irrelevant. The audience he can reach with the fruits of his special studies is so tiny as to seem even more unimportant than the subject matter. That is why the need is now so great to relate the special studies we pursue to the whole of man's nature. We must relate them to the common aspirations, the common strength, and the common weaknesses which are to be found in human beings everywhere—in Asia and Africa as well as in Europe, South America, and the United States. At a time when all parts, all races, all creeds of the world have been brought into economic, social, and military interdependence as never before in history, what happens to the whole is bound to have immense effects on the parts.

If we are to work toward the goal we have defined for education, sharp, comprehensive changes in the intellectual and moral outlook of men and women everywhere are required, especially in the United States and Russia. Modern democracy and communism may be poles apart concerning the nature of freedom and the nature of justice. They are one in conceiving of both freedom, justice, and other human values predominantly in terms of material goods. They are at one in assuming that if men only wring all they can from the natural resources of the earth, if they only go on working to increase the volume of output, and to decrease the death rates from disease, the future welfare of mankind will be assured, provided their way of seeking these objectives triumphs over all other ways. What both fail to recognize is that the pursuit of these objectives is full of dangers for human happiness. War, over-population, the exhaustion of resources can deprive men of the possibility of pursuing these objectives at the very time when they have deprived themselves, by habit, of their inner resources for seeking other equally human objectives.

If education in the United States is to set an example, to be of service to human nature in its variety and richness, education should

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

cease to serve the material at the expense of the spiritual, the special at the expense of the general. It should cease to serve the interests of the nation at the expense of the world community upon the creation of which the welfare of every nation, including the United States, has come to depend.

II

The movement in American education led during the past 20 years by Chancellor Hutchins, of the University of Chicago, has had such objects in view. Let us take stock of what this movement has tried to accomplish; what it should try to accomplish; how its objectives are related to peace and good will among men and to the prevalence of an orderly, disciplined, yet varied and intelligent life, in which claims of the spirit are given a dignified place neither inferior to, nor in conflict with, those of the body.

From colonial times, we have had to meet difficult practical problems if we were to take advantage of the rich natural resources provided by a sparsely settled and, for the most part, uncivilized continent. The solution of one practical problem usually created many new ones. Business enterprise, whatever its faults and whatever its corruption, has met these multiplying problems with extraordinary energy and remarkable success. By concentration on the practical material problems of special individuals, of special regions, of special subjects—by treating these practical material problems, which specialization helped to solve in a great continent at peace, as the only problems worthy of the serious and undivided attention of our most gifted young men, we have starved a part of our nature.

We have largely lost the faculty of recognizing and revealing the permanent in the particular, and thus of giving actual content to abstract propositions. We have diverted our energy, our generosity, our kindness, our love, and such charity as is ours into the service of the individual interests and causes which divide. In these ways we have largely deprived ourselves of those human faculties, the power of thought and of contemplation, which are man's chief resource when he is left to himself. It is this starvation that has made us so afraid of being left alone, that has prodded us to occupy every minute of our days and nights with activities.

The program of the Chicago school starts with the conviction that college work should have serious meaning, that it should fill the lives of students, and that it should prepare them to assume responsibilities at an earlier age. With these objectives, Chancellor Hutchins introduced certain clearly conceived reforms. Some merely cleared the ground for intellectual work. There are many extracurricular activities which deprive college students of opportunities to taste the more enduring delights of the life of the mind and spirit, but the central one is intercollegiate football. By abolishing it at the University of Chicago in 1939, Doctor Hutchins attacked the vice of college triviality in its citadel.

It may be desirable for many colleges to retain some restrained kinds of intercollegiate athletic competition. But if the leading universities of the country should follow Chicago's example in eliminating semiprofessional football, this would help promising young persons to acquire a taste for serious thought and contemplation at an age when it is still easy to form good habits.

In 1942, three years after the abolition of football at the University of Chicago, a reduction was made in the age at which college work can be completed. This was accomplished by opening the doors to students two years earlier than is the custom and by granting the terminal bachelor's degree two years sooner. Students with first-rate records are now admitted to the college after they have completed their second year of high school. After accomplishing work which is estimated to require on the average four years, they are eligible for the bachelor's degree. Other students who complete four years of high school are given the opportunity of graduating from college after following a course of study estimated to require two years. The new college is designed to graduate men and women at 20 instead of at 22.

Graduate and professional training is now much more prolonged than it was a century or even a generation ago. Surgeons, for example, have frequently to study and serve for at least 8 years after graduation from college before they can set up as full fledged

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

practitioners. All over the world the young men have had long periods lifted out of their productive lives by the obligation to join the armed forces of their countries. Under these circumstances, the persons who should be potentially the most gifted are hardly in a position to assume major responsibilities until they have reached a greater age than the one at which Keats, Schubert, Alexander the Great, or even Mozart had completed their life work. If the drifts of the past half century continue, we might keep our best equipped men and women at some kind of school or in some kind of apprenticeship until they reach the age of retirement, which oddly enough has been frequently lowered. The reduction of the college graduation age represents an effort to halt processes which threaten to turn us into a nation of persons who enter their second childhood when they have completed their childhood!

The positive side of the college program consists in setting up, in place of the system of electives, a series of general courses in the natural and biological sciences, the humanities, and the social sciences. The new program aims to provide all college students with one body of knowledge. In connection with it, a series of courses aimed at making sense of the whole has been introduced. The most ambitious of these is entitled "Observation, Integration, and Interpretation." It attempts to provide the students with the philosophical principles underlying intellectual, moral, and esthetic judgments.

The decisive questions are, of course: how good is this curriculum; how well is it taught; and how effectively do the students master it.

At Chicago emphasis has been laid upon the reading of books of enduring value. It is here that the change in conditions produced by the reforms of the Chicago school is most marked. Twenty years ago, before the movement began, it was with the utmost difficulty that I managed to get my associates at Swarthmore College to let me introduce in a course in economics such books as *The Wealth of Nations, The Spirit of the Laws,* and *The Social Contract.* I was finally permitted to use them as "collateral reading," which is reading of a kind nobody has time to do.

If a cultured visitor to the University of Chicago were now to collide on a slippery winter's day with a college student burdened with an armful of books, he would see the familiar names of Herodotus, Aristotle, Shakespeare, Homer, Dante, or Kant. Eighteen years ago a cultured visitor who had a similar collision would not have been able to recognize the author of a single one of the books lying scattered in the snow.

At the end of the new four-year college, men and women are ready to start on a career or to enter a professional school or university. They have had an experience fundamentally different from the generations that preceded them—the generations that fought in two world wars.

III

The strategy of the Chicago school does not end with the colleges. Its objectives extend to the education of adults, the reform of the schools of law and theology, even to the foundation of a small university of a new kind.

The adult education program aims to reach as large a number of citizens as possible. It grew out of experience gained by Chancellor Hutchins and Professor Mortimer J. Adler, the American philosopher, in a kind of seminar which they offered jointly for many years for groups of some twenty to thirty college students. The seminar was devoted to the discussion of various great books of the Western world, selected to instruct participants in the common moral and intellectual tradition which we derive from our European forebears. Eight years ago the experiment was tried of setting up a series of some six seminars of this kind, and of opening them to the public upon payment of a fee. A particular great book or part of it was assigned as a basis for the discussion at each meeting. The discussion aimed to bring out ideas of enduring value derived from the book and to illustrate them with the help of experiences with which members of the classes were familiar.

During the past seven years these seminars have multiplied in Chicago and have extended to many other cities. They are now under the direction of a corporation of the University of Chicago, called "The Great Books Foundation." Some forty thousand or more

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

people are taking part in the classes this year as compared with some seven thousand last year. It is hoped that the number will increase in geometrical progression from year to year until it reaches into the millions.

American law schools have become increasingly pragmatic in their training during the past fifty years. Like the elective system, the "case method" originated at Harvard. It forsook ethical principles almost altogether as a part of the program of instruction. It schooled the students in the precedents set by the judges in series of litigations and trials so that the graduates might estimate how, in the light of past experience, a particular case would probably go and advise their clients accordingly. These methods are deeply entrenched and no radical departure has yet been made from them even at Chicago. But courses in the fundamental principles of jurisprudence and ethics have been introduced. It is intended that the validity of decisions in particular cases shall be considered in the light of principles instead of being taken for granted. It is hoped that eventually this new training in principles may be adopted more extensively at Chicago and then by many law schools, that it may inculcate a sense of the moral good as such among lawyers and judges throughout the country and also among politicians, many of whom had been practicing lawyers or judges before they entered politics.

In his *Higher Learning in America,* published in 1936, Mr. Hutchins remarked that American academies for graduate study, with their scores of separate and almost hermetically sealed departments, resemble encyclopedias rather than universities. The only unifying principle is supplied by the letters of the alphabet. He suggested that the natural sciences, the humanities, and the social sciences should all become more philosophical in their objectives.

It is the intention of those who formed the Committee on Social Thought at the University of Chicago to make them so. Original thought is the necessary life-blood of a true university. It is only when researches are undertaken not for their own sake but for the higher purposes of humanity everywhere and always that they can command the allegiance, the imaginative insight, and the force necessary for the creation of lasting works of the mind. Graduate students of the Committee are introduced, through supervised reading and tutorial instruction, to the problems of the unification of knowledge by a study called "Fundamentals." An attempt is made to arouse their interest in basic issues of theological, philosophical, and historical knowledge. Each individual is encouraged to reconcile the contradictions that appear in these subjects.

The object is to help him with the work of synthesis. During the past centuries the general effect of the increase in empirical studies in the natural sciences, the social sciences, and the humanities has been to divide. Philosophical principles and imaginative insight are the generating forces that can reveal what it is important to bring together and how the unification can take place. As the reason for the existence of the Committee on Social Thought is to enable its faculty and students to contribute, as individuals, however humbly, to syntheses of knowledge, the training in "Fundamentals" is intended to be an integral part of the creative writing that each is invited to undertake. To be valid, any partial synthesis of modern knowledge must rest, it is felt, on theological, metaphysical, and historical foundations.

The instruction which the Committee aims to give is training in thinking combined with serious sustained research, begun as soon as possible in the student's graduate career. This research is not concerned with the indiscriminate collection of bits of knowledge or with the achievement of immediate practical values of a material kind. It is concerned rather with the examination and the testing of data in the light of an evolving philosophical, esthetic, or moral purpose.

IV

Is there a conflict between the two different sides of the program of the Chicago school—the education of the very many and the cultivation of creative thought among the very few? If knowledge could in fact be effectively unified, then the resulting work of unification should have a message for all. The fracturing of knowledge has much to do with the destruction of a general audience. This splitting of our cultural inheritance has made a present

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of the very large audience to the purveyors of sport, cheap entertainment, and sensationally presented news. The creative thinker or writer receives his ideas in trust for a large audience. The potential reader of the "great books" might conceivably provide this audience. One of the evils of the modern world is the enormous size of its enterprises. The evils of size are especially pronounced in the American universities, of which there are hundreds, some with tens of thousands of students. In such enormous entities, stereotyped rules impede creative thought and discussion. Yet with a world of two billion people, made largely interdependent by modern technology, civilization cannot escape large units. The hope for the creative mind seems to lie in the establishment, within these oceans of people, of small islands devoted to creative thought, to letters, and to art, that is, to work which could have great meaning for the many. What these groups need is recognition, independence, freedom, and security to work. The prizes which now go to cinema "stars," radio commentators, and some writers of best sellers are not for members of these groups.

The program of the Chicago school is still in an embryonic stage. Whether it lives up to its promise depends largely upon the persons who are entrusted to carry it out. How widespread and deep an impression it will make, the years alone can decide. This program is only one of many means of working toward the goal of building a Christian world community based on charity, love, and justice rather than on force and murder or on confusion and individualism run wild. What universities can do is only a small part of what education can do—partly because the years before children are ready for college are in many ways of far greater importance in forming habits. University education, even college education, is not for everyone. We suffer today from too much education almost as much as from bad education. The goal of education ought to be the goal of human endeavor. Only by ceasing to be pedagogical in the narrow sense, only by appealing to the latent desires of men everywhere for a world in which mechanical efficiency is subordinated to wisdom, force to charity and justice, and freedom to responsibility, can education contribute to the eternal happiness which all men and women have the right to seek.

This article was adapted from a paper, "The Goal of American Education," delivered by Mr. Nef before the Ninth Conference on Science, Philosophy, and Religion in New York, September 7, 1948. The full text of this paper is scheduled to appear in a Conference volume to be edited by Lyman Bryson, Louis Finkelstein, and R. M. MacIver and to be published in the spring.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE REORGANIZATION OF CONGRESS

By ELLEN D. ELLIS
Professor Emeritus of Political Science
Mount Holyoke College

CONGRESS FAILED TO *RIGHT ITSELF*

THE passage of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946 might have led us to expect that the Eightieth Congress would function more smoothly and more efficiently than its predecessors.

This measure was enacted after 17 months of "full and complete study of the organization and operation of the Congress," by the Joint Committee on the Organization of Congress and by Congress itself. The Committee was directed to submit recommendations looking toward "strengthening the Congress, improving its relationships with other branches of the government and enabling it better to meet its responsibilities under the Constitution." Its report was presented on March 4, 1946. The Reorganization Act became law on August 2 of that year.

In the course of its work, almost twelve hundred pages of testimony were recorded—a mine of information and informed opinion. All of the difficulties under which Congress still labored were reviewed. Proposals for remedy ran the entire gamut from mild correctives to far-reaching changes in our basic form of government. The Committee on Congress of the American Political Science Association and the National Planning Board were also at work on the same problem. The reports of both these bodies were before the Joint Committee.

To say that the results of these investigations as embodied in the Reorganization Act went further than any previous congressional reform is not to say very much. In spite of the great political wisdom displayed in the testimony before the Joint Committee, political pressures, self interest, and the "cake of custom" prevented Congress from taking effective action. Congress, however, could not by legislation alone have removed or corrected the most fundamental obstructions to smooth and effective government in the United States. The Reorganization Act was indeed fated to go into effect under the impact of the greatest of the obstructions possible under the Constitution—a difference in political party between the administration and Congress. Such a state of affairs inevitably paralyzes the machinery of government. The "bi-partisan foreign policy" has not completely veiled the underlying difficulties and frustrations.

There was striking unanimity among the various diagnoses of the "sickness" of Congress presented to the Joint Committee. The two chief handicaps under which Congress had been laboring were found to lie in the inadequate mechanisms and techniques of Congress itself, and in the difficult relation of the legislative to the executive branch, including the administrative agencies.

Congress has been strangely negligent through the years in equipping itself with appropriate machinery and methods for the increasingly difficult task of democratic government in a technological age.

From 70 to 90 per cent of the time of the individual members of both houses was found to be devoted to non-legislative work, or legislative work not national in scope. The three most time-consuming phases of this work have been correspondence with and service for constituents, the handling of private claims against the Government of the United

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

States, and provision for the government of the District of Columbia.

Nothing was done in the Reorganization Act concerning the District of Columbia. Partial alleviation of the first two difficulties was provided. "The Speaker [and] the majority and the minority leader of the House of Representatives—[were] each authorized to employ an administrative assistant who . . . . [should] receive basic compensation at a rate not to exceed $8,000 a year;" while each one of the Senators was in effect provided with such assistance. The Act also provided that cases involving claims up to $1,000 might be heard and settled by the federal agency concerned, while, subject to certain exceptions and limitations, claims for larger amounts and appeals from federal agencies should be settled by the United States District Courts acting without jury.

COMMITTEES

The actual legislative work load of Congress was discussed at length in the hearings. The congressional committee structure was found to be "obsolete and overlapping" and inefficient in the extreme. As the legislative program expanded, Congress created new standing committees instead of extending the jurisdiction of existing committees with closely related functions. The resulting chaotic committee structure bore little relation to the growing administrative structure, itself equally chaotic. Apart from the handling of some matters of ceremony, etiquette, and administration, and apart from the Conference Committees appointed for the ironing out of differences between the houses over specific bills, the device of the joint committee had been rarely resorted to. There had in fact been little general conference of any sort between committees of the two houses. Much sentiment was expressed for the establishment in the two houses of "twin" committees which should confer with each other as occasion offered, if not for a more frequent use of the joint committee.

Vested interests and prospects of committee membership had offered effective resistance to a reduction of the standing committees, with the result that in the Senate they numbered 33 and in the House, 48. This was in addition to special committees. It was estimated that about 90 per cent of the legislative work of Congress was conducted in committees. Much time was consumed in going from one committee hearing to another. Many members of the Senate were serving on from 7 to 10 standing committees, some members of the House on as many as six. In both House and Senate the seniority rule prevailed, whereby the committee member longest on the committee almost invariably becomes chairman, regardless of his genuine qualification for the post.

Following within close limits the Joint Committee report, the Reorganization Act provided for the systematic consolidation of the Senate standing committees into 15, each Senator to serve in general on two but not more than two; and for the consolidation of the House standing committees into 19, each House member to serve in general on one but not more than one. This has resulted in a committee structure in which a greater proportion of committees in the two houses have more nearly the same respective jurisdictions. This, however, could and should be carried further, to facilitate conference between these "twin" committees. No recommendation was made, and no action was taken by Congress concerning the seniority rule.

For its main business, preparing and drafting legislation, Congress has been signally ill-equipped. The extra-congressional reference service at the disposal of individuals and committees has been inadequate, to say the least—and this at a time when Congress has, ironically, been voting large sums of money to provide such assistance for the administrative agencies.

The Reorganization Act provided for a greatly expanded expert and stenographic staff for members of Congress and for committees, and for an expansion of the Legislative Reference Service in the Library of Congress. In some instances, the additional sums suggested by the Joint Committee were exceeded. The salaries of the members of both houses were increased, and a retirement system was established.

The difficult relation of Congress to the executive branch of the government has its main roots in the doctrine of the separation

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of powers. According to the Constitution, the executive was to be politically independent of the legislative for office and tenure of office. The executive was, however, to be subject to some check by the legislative in the performance of most of its functions. The legislative was likewise to be independent of the executive for office and tenure of office, but was to be subject also to some check by the executive in the performance of its functions.

With the development of political parties it became possible for almost complete paralysis to take hold of the government through the simultaneous incumbency of an executive of one party and a legislature of another. And even when both branches have been of one party, the stresses and strains have frequently been great. Little opportunity has been provided for normal political leadership within or outside Congress. There has been still less opportunity for the holding of the extra-congressional leadership which has of necessity emerged in the executive, responsible to the legislature as the more popularly elected representative of the people. The two main weaknesses in our governmental structure, the lack of intra-congressional leadership and of executive responsibility, have stemmed from this over-emphasis on the separation of governmental power.

These difficulties have been magnified many times by recent developments of our technological age. The decreasing size of the world as a result of improved methods of communication and of aerial warfare has advanced the conduct of foreign relations, assigned by the Constitution to the executive, into a place entirely unforeseen by the framers of that instrument. With this has come an inevitable extension of the use of executive power. The increasing application of scientific discovery to all departments of life has had its immediate repercussions in the expanded use of the executive and administrative function. The increasing concern of the national, as of all government, in the "felt necessities of the people," to quote from the testimony of Professor Hamilton of Yale, has expressed itself in a "host of [administrative] agencies, each charged with its own particular task." Given the highly technical nature of the matters dealt with, all that the Congress has been able to do has been

Shoemaker in *The Chicago Daily News*

"Just Imagine Looking Like That!"

to lay down broad objectives, leaving it to the agencies to "apply to particular cases and changing conditions" the principles thus laid down. And, although these rulings have been given the force of law, there has been no direct and normal method whereby Congress could ensure that its true intent and purpose was being carried out.

Existing devices in Senate and House for the formulation of policy—the Speakership in the House of Representatives, the party caucus, steering committees, majority and minority floor leaders, party whips—have not proved equal to the task of creating and seeing through a steady and consistent legislative program. Legislative leadership has consequently developed outside Congress. Proposed legislation has increasingly originated with the executive or with administrative agencies. The expert staffs so generously voted by Congress to the agencies have come to draft a large proportion of the bills laid before Congress.

Under the existing close integration between executive and legislative in Great Britain, this procedure is the common one. Government bills occupy the major portion of Parliamentary legislative time. Here, with our

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

theory of the separation of power, we do not easily accept such a situation.

The Joint Committee was especially concerned over the matter of fiscal policy. While the Budget and Accounting Act of 1921 had served its purpose well in bringing about a planned executive budget, the President still had no effective control over the budget after its presentation to the Congress. Congress was itself under no obligation to give any consideration to estimated total revenue and estimated total expenditure in their relation to one another.

The Reorganization Act provided for the creation of a Joint Committee to be composed of the Appropriations Committees of the two houses, and the Ways and Means Committee of the House, and the Finance Committee of the Senate. This committee, after the submission of the President's Budget Message but by February 15, was to present a legislative budget setting forth estimated over-all federal receipts and expenditures for the coming fiscal year; within certain limits, appropriations should be kept within the approved budget figure. In 1947 the House and Senate were unable to agree on a ceiling for appropriations. In 1948, while the Congress succeeded in adopting a budget which reduced the President's estimate for expenditures by $2,500,000,000, this reduction is not being maintained in actual appropriations. Representative Cannon, incoming Chairman of the House Appropriations Committee, has declared his intention, for good or for ill, of moving to repeal the legislative budget clause of the Reorganization Act.

No action was taken by Congress concerning the legislative policy committees in the two houses recommended by the Joint Committee, nor the recommended Joint Legislative—Executive Council as steps toward the restoration of a measure of legislative initiative in the formulation of a more integrated national policy. The Senate did, however, by indirect means secure for itself a policy committee.

The second basic weakness in our legislative —executive structure lies in the absence of effective channels of legislative control over executive and administrative officials. The opinion was expressed many times in the committee hearings that wherever possible, lines of more direct control should be opened up. It was emphasized that in the past Congress had had to rely too much on indirect, remote, and in many cases too late, control largely through its appropriation function, and through the power of the Senate to reject a treaty by vote of one more than a third of those present.

The advisability of introducing a question period during which members of the executive and administrative branch should appear before full sessions of the Senate and/or House for question and report was discussed at length. Some who urged this were ready to go so far as to allow the President to call for an election of both branches when deadlock between them should ensue. Others believed that fuller power given to the standing committees to question officials would provide a more satisfactory solution. The Reorganization Act failed to take specific note of this problem of control.

STREAMLINING

It is difficult, so soon after its passage, to appraise with any degree of confidence the real significance of the Reorganization Act. Some genuine "streamlining" of the working structure of Congress has undoubtedly been achieved. The reduction in the number of standing committees has been noted. The number of special committees in the two houses of the Eightieth Congress over against those of the Seventy-ninth also shows a decrease. The number of joint committees, most of them still having to do with matters of etiquette or ceremony or with administration, are in total number about the same. A somewhat larger proportion of such joint bodies have, during the past two years, appeared to have a legislative function.

Some presistent weaknesses in the committee structure of the Congress remain. The failure to do away by law with the seniority rule is likely to present the President with a difficulty not unlike the difficulties presented by the Republican Eightieth Congress. A recent analysis of the committee chairmanships due in the Eighty-first Congress reveals the fact that, according to the seniority rule, they will go predominantly to Easterners and

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Southerners whose average age will be over 69 years, and two of whom will be over 80. Under this arrangement, the West, Middle West, and Pacific Northwest, which contributed most heavily to President Truman's election, will have very few if any of these posts. Failure of Congress to adopt a recommendation of the Joint Committee that the expert technical staffs of the House and Senate committees should be appointed only on a merit basis has also left open the important question whether the newly elected Democratic Congress will establish the precedent of removing this corps of experts indiscriminately and filling their places with Democratic appointees.

Since the Reorganization Act went into effect, the presence in Washington of a Democratic President and a Republican Congress has rendered impracticable any idea whatever of an integrated policy, of responsible leadership, or adequate legislative control. Only with the convening of the Eighty-first Democratic Congress will the real test come. The effectiveness of what improvements were made in the working machinery of Congress will be lessened so long as this improved machinery cannot maintain direct political control over the executive and administrative branch.

The executive function is essentially the function of dictatorship, and the pre-eminent task of democracy in the present and the foreseeable future is to preserve itself and, thereby, the liberties of the people by the maintenance of proper checks on executive power. Even in Great Britain, where parliamentary democracy has developed most satisfactorily, a recent tendency has been evident toward a concentration of power in the Cabinet, and behind the Cabinet, in the permanent civil service. British custom still dictates, however, that differences must ultimately be resolved either by a resignation of the ministry or an appeal to the people in a parliamentary election.

It is to be regretted that the Congress, itself the popular representative branch of our government, did not find it possible to break with one of the most obstructive American traditions and take steps toward the establishment of clearer and more direct mechanisms of congressional control over the executive and the administration. Anything short of such clear and direct control is a makeshift at best. The two branches can still do little but, in Senator Fulbright's phrase, "stick out . . . . [their] tongues at each other." Only a thoroughgoing change can bring to the government the elements of organic unity and responsible leadership, which also spells legislative control, now more needed than in any period in our history.

Practically all normal, childlike activity is forbidden by law, landlords, and parents.
—Dr. Howard D. Lane

The GI's who were there all remember the subtle and sometimes impenetrable humor of the British during the Yanks' war-time friendly invasion of the beleaguered isle.

In one small town not too far outside a busy seaport, the main street was definitely a danger area as big American trucks roared down it at high speed on their way to the Army camp on the other side of town.

The mayor posted several signs requesting a reduction of speed upon entering the village outskirts, but they had no noticeable effect. Then he took them all down and put up two big signs, one at each entrance to the town. Afterwards, traffic purred along the main thoroughfare, hardly raising the dust.

On the signs were printed: Please, Yanks, Drive Slowly; The child playing in the street may be yours!
—*American Legion Magazine*

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

What are the scientists' responsibilities?

THE IVORY LABORATORY

By MELVIN KRANZBERG
Assistant Professor of History
Amherst College

UNTIL the dropping of the atom bomb, the "pure," or theoretical, scientist was usually thought of as a harmless fellow working on problems which were completely divorced from the realities of everyday living. Just as the classical scholars or philosophers were said to reside in an "ivory tower," so the nuclear physicists and their fellow scientists were immured in an "ivory laboratory," well insulated against the shock of social turmoil or the disturbing waves of political activity. But the explosions at Hiroshima and Nagasaki did more than shatter the Japanese Empire; they also blasted and crumbled the walls of the ivory laboratories. The mushrooming smoke of the atomic missiles obliterated the vague barriers between "pure" and "applied" science. Henceforth, no excursion into the realms of theoretical physics, no matter how other-worldly or impractical it might seem, could ever again be considered as wholly lacking in interest and application to the events of daily life. Almost overnight, the atom bomb had transformed the erstwhile "academic" scientists into the arbiters of our future. Instead of being safely hidden away in their cloistered laboratories, the scientists found themselves in the midst of the market place.

The scientists, while pleased at the sudden public appreciation of the value of theoretical and speculative science, were appalled at the form which the demonstration of their value to society had taken. They had thought of science in terms of something constructive—either adding to man's good life or increasing the extent of man's knowledge and thereby adding to human happiness in some indirect way. Now it was unmistakably clear that this increased knowledge could be used for destructive purposes of the greatest magnitude. Instead of the safety of their special type of ivory tower, they were faced with the questioning, and sometimes bitter, glances of their fellow men.

Even the most naïve scientists knew that modern warfare had applied the achievements of science to its work in increasing measure. Some scientists had always feared and declaimed against the military application of scientific theories, but the larger portion had believed that their work was remote from the actualities of war. The Manhattan Project demonstrated convincingly that this was not so. Nearly every branch of science had cooperated in the production of an engine of war, including some specialized branches which had hitherto considered themselves far from the battlefield. This great project also decreased the time lag between the discovery or statement of certain scientific possibilities and their application. Formerly, the scientist who had worked on the theoretical aspects of, say, fluid dynamics, felt himself far removed, in both time and place, from the actual application of his principles to submarine warfare or underwater explosives. Similarly, the aerodynamic theorist did not bother to take into consideration the fact that his work could be usefully employed in enabling a plane to drop bombs over Berlin and Tokyo.

Science, as all knowledge, had usually been thought of as of benefit to mankind. Now the

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

atom bomb, and the publicity attendant upon it, drove home to many scientists the dangerous implications of their work, even the most purely theoretical of their speculations. No scientist could say henceforth that his research bore no connection with man's destructive potentialities. Even those whose work had no direct relation to that of the atomic physicists realized that the position of all the natural and physical sciences was in question. The value and utility of science in enabling man to conquer his environment had already been proved, but its destructive potentialities, dramatized for the entire world by the explosion of the atomic missiles, required a new justification for the work of the scientists.

REACTION OF SCIENTISTS

The reactions of the men of science to this public inquiry into their *raison d'être* were varied. Some of them denied all responsibility for the uses which had been made of science. They retired to their laboratories, stating that the work of the true scientist was independent of the use to which his knowledge might be put. To them, it was important to acquire more knowledge, but it was not the fault of the scientists if men employed their theories for destructive ends. In other words, the results of knowledge were not to be a factor in determining the validity of the search for knowledge. They ignored the fact that the walls of their ivory tower had collapsed and pretended that they were still protected from the workaday world.

The vast majority of scientists, however, could not shut their eyes to reality. Most of them realized that a "return to the cave" rather than a return to the laboratory was necessary. They felt that if science was entitled to glory for the benefits which it had conferred upon mankind, it was also in some measure responsible for the destruction which it had made possible. Some sort of justification seemed necessary to explain the position of science in connection with the atom bomb. Their role of "modern mercenaries" weighed on their consciences, and they sought to ease the "guilt complex" to which they had succumbed.

But in many cases their eyes had become so accustomed to the mellowed ivory tints of their former protecting bastions that they could not stand the harsh light of reality. Knowing that their ivory laboratories had been destroyed, they sought to rebuild them. Their method was to deny that the atom bomb was a force for evil and acclaim it as a benefit to humanity. One argument which was used was based on the notion that war was such an evil thing that anything done to end it sooner was a blessing. Thus the atom bomb was a blessing—in disguise, of course—because it brought the war to a close and thereby saved further destruction. In other words, they employed the notion of the end justifying the means. Since the atom bomb was used to achieve a desirable result, the atom bomb was desirable in itself. Or, arguing from the same principle, they justified the atom bomb, and hence the science which had created it, by pointing out that if the United States had not developed it first, the enemy powers would have. But it is questionable whether this represents a defense of universal science so much as a defense of American military strategy. It is of no credit to science as a whole that one group of scientists must devote their energies to the creation of engines of destruction merely because another group of scientists of different nationality are bending their efforts to the same ends.

Not all scientists were satisfied with an explanation which related the atom bomb to the problems of military expediency. One group, in an effort to re-erect their protecting ivory shelter, reverted to the arguments of the earlier scientists who, when the destructive potentialities of their discoveries were pointed out of them, also indicated the wide and beneficent uses to which their developments could be put during times of peace. Thus, many atomic scientists have attempted to salve their consciences by showing that atomic energy can be converted to many peace-time uses and will ultimately be a boon to mankind. Still others assert that nothing can or should be done to stop the progress of science. The development of the atom bomb to them represents scientific progress, which they consider as indubitably desirable. But this raises a question—which they apparently are unwilling to face—of the desirability of scientific progress if such "progress" manifests itself in

DRURY COLLEGE LIBRARY
625.3

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the form of the technical ability to maim and kill thousands of people. Just because an invention or scientific hypothesis might be put to beneficial, as well as to destructive uses, does not mean that the ethical questions raised by its application are not valid. Yet these men hope to rebuild their ivory laboratories and shut the door against any such embarrassing questions which might disturb their confidence in the value of the accuracy of their measurements and the objectivity of their calculations.

Some of the foremost scientific minds—including many who played a leading part in the development of the atom bomb—have not been able to satisfy their consciences by these feeble attempts at casuistry. The destructive possibilities of the Frankenstein's monster which they have let loose upon the world make them feel some responsibility to mankind. To these men, knowledge and action must have some ethical content, so they do not attempt to justify their role by saying that the ends justify the means. They know that their ivory laboratories have been destroyed—indirectly by their own actions—and that they can never be rebuilt. Instead of attempting to erect a bombproof ivory shelter, they have abandoned all efforts to return to the "splendid isolation" of their ivory laboratories, and they now seek to play an active role as citizens as well as scientists.

PROPAGANDA

One of the ways in which they indicate their concern and alarm for the future of humanity is by using propaganda to acquaint all men everywhere with the destructive potentialities of the atom bomb. Part of their function, as they see it, is to show the world the terrible things which science can do. They try to arouse mankind to an awareness of the outcome of another war if the atom bomb is employed as a primary weapon in its opening phase rather than near the close of an already successful campaign. Once they have opened the eyes of men to the possibilities of self-destruction inherent in atomic warfare, they hope that the politicians and statesmen of the world will be prodded into saving civilization from suicide. It is obvious that these scientists have not shrugged their shoulders and dismissed the whole question of the relation of ethics to science, nor are they attempting to shirk their responsibilities to society. Some of them have put their scientific knowledge at the disposal of mankind so as to arrive at some sort of defense against, or diminution of the horrors of, the engines of destruction which they have made possible, while others seek to develop peace-time uses for nuclear fission.

What is more important, however, is that the scientists have aided in evolving plans whereby the destructive aspects of atomic energy can be controlled. Atomic power is thus no Pandora's Box from which all evils flow, for the scientists have shown how the lid may be shut so as to prevent its exploitation for warlike purposes. But—and here is the rub—the plans for control of atomic power on which they have worked deal only with the technological factors involved. With only a few notable exceptions, the scientists have thought in terms of technical control rather than social and political control of the atom. While they have been able to determine methods whereby a careful check could be made on all facilities dealing with atomic energy and make certain that it is being used only for peaceful purposes, the scientists have been remarkably silent about finding some way in which the acceptance of the world could be gained for these methods. Yet it is precisely at this point—the social and political aspects of atomic control—that the question of control of the atom is bogged down; it is at this point that the ethical and moral consciousness of the scientist is needed.

But, ask the scientists, what is expected of them? As trained scientists can they do more than present the facts about the dangerous implications of their work to the world and show how its technological aspects may be controlled? The social and political aspects of control, they feel, must be the work of minds better qualified to deal with those subjects. Consequently, in all their actions there is the tacit plea that others, primarily the social scientists who supposedly have the training for the job, rescue mankind from the abyss into which a complete application of scientific technology would plunge us.

It is here that the scientists reveal that they have only recently been emancipated from their ivory cells. Although they have grasped

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the essential fact of their social and moral responsibility, their perspective has been so limited by their long confinement in their isolated laboratories that they have been unable to discern clearly the vast vistas opened to them by the collapse of their containing walls. Their vision remains limited to the ivory laboratory; they believe that they have done everything possible. All they can do now is hope that others will carry on the battle for world survival. This is a counsel of despair which reveals the persistence of the ivory tower mentality among these scientists because it is based upon two fallacious assumptions. In the first place, the natural and physical scientists overestimate the power and ability of the social scientists to save the world; in the second place, they underestimate their own.

FALLACIES

The men of science have done so well in conquering man's physical environment that they falsely assume that other fields of knowledge are equally advanced in the conquest of the social milieu. They fail to realize that perhaps the social scientists do not yet know enough about society to work out a satisfactory solution to the problem of keeping the human race from suicide. Or perhaps the trouble does not lie in the lack of development of the social sciences but in the nature of the problem itself. It is conceivable that the social sciences know as much now as they will ever know, but perhaps that knowledge is not enough, or the problem is too great ever to be solved by the human mind.

There is another possibility regarding the inability of the social scientists to meet the challenge which the physical scientists have thrust upon them. Even if the social scientists do know, or can learn, enough to grapple with the problem, and even if the problem is capable of being resolved, there still remains the very strong possibility that the answer might be too late to save humanity. Those who are in a policy-making position, or the people at large, may be unwilling to accept the solution offered by the social scientists and might prefer to risk self-destruction by means of the atom bomb. The social scientists may formulate plans for the re-ordering of society which would theoretically save mankind from its own destructive tendencies, but that does not mean that these plans would or could be applied, despite the necessity for them. Religion and philosophy have for centuries postulated an ordering of society and of mankind which would do away with the need for inventing an atom bomb. The measure of their failure to gain acceptance for their ideas can be seen in the pitiful cries of the physical scientists that something has to be done now to save mankind in this new crisis which religion and philosophy have been unable to prevent.

The limitations of their ivory laboratory thought have put the physical scientists into the position of casting the responsibility which they feel upon the shoulders of others without seeing if the others are equipped to cope with the burden. Perhaps the social sciences cannot save us, and the physical scientists are thus not relieved of their obligation, although they might bear no moral onus. They may have overestimated the power of other human agencies to deal with the question of preserving mankind; on the other hand, they feel helpless to solve the problem themselves. Yet such an attitude on their part may be as much in error as relying on others too much.

One of the chief reasons why the physical scientists have a feeling of inadequacy regarding their ability to deal with the social questions posed by atomic power is that they have preserved the traditional concept of the "scientific mind." The implication of this idea is that scientists are people apart, possessing certain mental qualifications enabling them to deal with esoteric problems regarding the nature of the physical universe, but leaving them totally unqualified to deal with matters of an esthetic or social nature. The converse of this proposition is that there are certain other people who do not possess a "scientific mind" and hence are incapable of understanding the physical scientists. Nevertheless they are perfectly capable of utilizing the results of scientific work, and can solve satisfactorily the problems of the social evils which beset the world.

The results of this distinction between the scientists and the non-scientists can be seen in the entire American educational system whose advancement of specialization and

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

technical training has given credence to this popular misconception. Thus the possession or lack of the "scientific mind" is often advanced to explain the failure of the high school student who excels in algebra to write a simple English sentence properly, or the inability of the English teacher to be able to add the balance in his checkbook correctly. The concept is based on the assumption that there are various faculties existing in the mind which enable some people to do problems of a mathematical or scientific nature without difficulty, while others who lead in other fields are unable to add two and two. In addition to this supposedly inherent psychological distinction, the scientists have proudly claimed to be the sole possessors of a method which they have labelled the "scientific method," and which alone can perceive and pursue the truth.

As a result of these false distinctions, to which the entire population seems to give its tacit agreement, we have condoned the breaking-up of our educational system into segments based upon the cultivation of those scientific qualities of the mind and those fields of knowledge which supposedly require certain mental facilities. Furthermore, the non-scientific groups hesitate to employ the methods of the scientists, or if they do, they apologize for their seeming encroachments upon the sacred preserves of science. The results have been educational and psychological chaos and the erection of mutually exclusive ivory towers and ivory laboratories.

The so-called "scientific method" actually involves nothing more than the observation and collection of data, and its integration and interpretation on the basis of the perceived facts. There is no reason why this method and its basic attitude of detachment and objectivity should be considered the exclusive property of the physical scientists. Various other fields can, and have, employed them. True, in human relations the observation and collection of the data is made more difficult because of the impossibility of repeating experiments insofar as historical events are concerned, but the fundamentals of the scientific method and attitude are applicable to all fields of human endeavor as well as to those which deal with the physical aspects of nature.

The concept of the "scientific mind" is even more suspect. Not only have psychologists been unable to discover a separate portion of the brain devoted exclusively to items of a mathematical or scientific nature, but it is questionable whether there are any differences involved in the solution of an algebraic equation or the problem of determining who discovered America. In all cases, whether dealing with physical or social phenomena, our minds work with symbols to make known our ideas. In the case of the mathematician, the symbols are numbers; with the chemists they are literal symbols; with the physicist they are mostly Greek letters which have been assigned an artificial value or meaning; with the historian, sociologist, and political scientist, the symbols are words. In each case, the symbols are used to express ideas. The chief difficulty is that the social scientists are forced to use symbols which are used in everyday life and which have received no arbitrarily designated value upon which there is complete agreement such as, for example, the value of Pi to the mathematician. But that does not mean that the mental processes involved in expressing ideas through symbolic terms are any different for the physicist than for the student of the humanities or the social sciences. There is as little excuse for the student of mathematics to claim that he cannot express a clear idea upon politics as there is for the political scientist to claim his inability to work a binomial equation.

Yet the idea of the scientist possessing certain innate faculties which differentiate him from the non-scientist permeates our whole educational system. In engineering and scientific schools, the humanities and social sciences have been slighted, and the students look upon their courses outside of the purely technical ones as useless, and even harmful. In liberal arts colleges, the sciences are looked upon as disciplines apart from the main stream of liberal thought, involving mental faculties which differ from those employed in courses of philosophy or literature. The result is that the average educated layman professes a complete inability to understand the work of the scientist, while the scientist claims equally that he does not partake in the problems of the citizen.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Only recently, with the re-introduction of compulsory "core curricula" in some of our institutions of advanced learning, requiring more science for the liberal arts student and more liberal arts for the student of science, has an attempt been made to break down the artificial barriers which have limited man's knowledge of himself and his environment. These revised courses of study should make apparent to all what the teachers of science in liberal arts colleges and the teachers of non-scientific subjects in engineering and scientific schools have long known, namely, the close correlation of the work of an individual student in all his subjects, even though the student himself may claim that he lacks ability in one field or another. It would seem that a high level of general intelligence is a prerequisite for excellence in any branch of knowledge, and any special aptitudes which one might possess in certain areas of mental endeavor would be attributable to environmental or social factors rather than inborn psychological characteristics.

The scientist then must realize that he is not so incapable as he believes himself to be of forming judgments or taking action in a field other than his own closely circumscribed specialty. The approach of the social sciences and the mental capacities involved differ in no wise fundamentally from those which are employed by the scientist in his laboratory, although he may not be trained so well in the application of those techniques to other fields. There is no reason why the scientist cannot make some effort to understand and cope with social problems. He should not feel that his scientific training and practice limit his potential action in the political sphere and that such activity can safely be entrusted to others —some of whom still dwell in ivory towers of their own.

This does not mean that the social scientists need not take their proper share of responsibility as well. They are supposedly qualified by their training to deal with special problems involving man's relations in society. But the question of the survival of civilization is not one merely for the social scientists, any more than it is exclusively one for the preachers and theologians. The problem is so serious and so pressing that no man can afford to rely on others for its successful solution. It calls for a concentrated effort on all fronts of human endeavor, and the scientist must shoulder his fair burden also. He cannot disclaim responsibility by saying that it is the task of others or that he is unqualified to take action. Ethics is as much a part of his science as it is of religion or the science of human behavior, and the physical scientist must avoid even a partial return to the ivory laboratory mentality by the delusion of his own incapacity.

A farmer retired and moved to the city. On the first morning his wife said: "Well Pa, it's about time you started the fire."

"Not me!" he replied, nestling deeper in bed. "We might as well start right now getting used to all the city conveniences. Call the fire department."

—*Builders*

One evening a doctor, an engineer, and a politician were discussing which of their various professions first appeared on earth. The medical man claimed that his calling had that honor, since the Lord had removed a rib from Adam to form Eve, and that was a surgical operation. "No," argued the engineer, "In the beginning, God made order out of chaos, and that's an engineer's job." The politician just laughed and asked, "And, who created the chaos?"

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

LABOR DID IT!

By GEREL RUBIEN
Educational Director, Undergarment & Negligee Workers Union, Local 62 (A.F.L.—I.L.G.W.U.)

HOW LABOR WON THE ELECTION

THERE'S no such thing as a "labor vote," say some of the people who should know. Maybe there isn't, in the final analysis, because nobody can be sure just how any individual will vote. There is, of course, the exception of John L. Lewis's miners, whose voting record is known to have been, for many years, the opposite of what he advocated. (It is known because they live in isolated communities, where most of the voters are miners and their wives.)

But there is such a thing as labor winning an election—and that's what happened in the startling elections of 1948. President Truman said, "Labor did it," a generous giving of credit from the man who fought such a gallant fight, with but lukewarm support from his own party and only isolated islands of support from the press.

Labor strongly backed Franklin Delano Roosevelt in 1944. They were not alone in their hearty endorsement. Roosevelt had given unions a voice in the councils of government. The workers turned out for him, as did many other Americans.

But it wasn't necessary to tell the vast mass of Americans what Roosevelt stood for. His was the magnetic personality, the "Voice," in whose potency local politicos could comfortably trust when it came to campaign radio speeches.

Labor played the major role in the winning of the 1948 elections for the Democrats because it carried the burden of education of the American electorate. This educational campaign was directed, not only at the members of unions, but at the entire American populace. It demonstrated the efficacy of such union education on a nation-wide basis. In spite of the high powered, streamlined campaign of the Republicans, with all the great organs of publicity behind them—radio, newspapers, commentators, and public opinion polls—labor's educational campaign reached the American public. It made sense to them, and they acted through the ballot box.

What made labor so active in this campaign? The A.F.L. and the C.I.O. worked vigorously to get out the vote and to bring the issues home to their members and to all Americans. Organized labor realized that vital interests were at stake in this election. The Taft-Hartley law was the rallying point. Its defeat was the banner under which all liberal minded Americans were bid to rally. It was the measuring stick by which unions judged all candidates for office. The candidate's vote on the law, or his position in regard to its repeal, was the first prerequisite for labor's endorsement, and endorsement by organized labor this year meant more than lip service. It meant active support for the candidate in terms of the labor press, radio time, doorbell ringers, mass rallies, originated and paid for by rank and file union members' voluntary contributions.

The Taft-Hartley law was passed by a Congress, many of whose members had been elected in 1946, when only 3 out of every 10 qualified voters went to the polls. The Republicans—the strongest supporters of the law that labor hates—were elected to Congress by a minority of American citizens. Labor saw what could happen in this country if the voters were permitted to sink into apathy about

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

elections. For the Eightieth Congress claimed it had a mandate from the people for anti-labor legislation—a claim that must have been a surprise to a great many people who didn't realize that their abstention from the privilege of voting contained any such forcible implications. Labor's first job was to tell the people of America that if they wanted to have their desires respected in Congress, they had to vote. The second job was the campaign itself.

Endorsing a candidate is not an exceptional departure for trade unions. But the active, personalized, detailed work that organized labor performed in this election is. The C.I.O. has, in the past, been more politically conscious than the older A.F.L. The older labor organization had witnessed the death of many unions, or their reduction to impotency, because of political squabbles. Diffuse political fights had helped destroy the Knights of Labor, which in the 1880's had numbered millions of workers in its ranks. The social climate of the early 1900's was not ripe for cohesive political action on the part of the unions. They were too busy building their organizations.

Now unions are strong. Even the arch reactionary must admit that they are in America to stay. They have a wider scope of activity, some of it gained through legislative means, much of it won by the workers themselves, through the important and beneficial role unions have played in community activities. The force of numbers is another factor, as is the stability they have brought to many industries.

Right after the passage of the Taft-Hartley law (accompanied by triumphant predictions that there would be more restrictive labor legislation), organized labor realized that it was in a fight for its life. Unions also realized that political activity was an integral part of union activity. Unions had won living wages for their members, had helped abolish the sweatshops, unfair hiring and firing practices, intolerable working conditions. The very legislation by which unions were enabled to take their places in our government and in the life of our nation brought home forcibly the fact that government, more and more, affects everyone in this country. The question here is not whether this is desirable or not. The fact is that modern life makes it imperative. Pragmatically, trade union members, like many other Americans, have taken cognizance of the fact. Politics—the form in which a democracy governs itself—must be a part of every worker's life. To press this fact home is an obligation of the trade union leader.

The C.I.O. worked through its Political Action Committee, originally set up during the Roosevelt days; it is now rejuvenated and freed, in most instances, from divisive and contentious Communist influences. The A.F.L. set up a new organization, Labor's League for Political Education. In some places these two organizations worked together admirably, notably in the state of Tennessee, where they helped Kefauver win the Democratic nomination for the Senate. The Railroad Brotherhoods and the International Association of Machinists worked independently, sometimes in cooperation with other unions.

RESULTS

The results are 54 Democrats and 42 Republicans in the Senate. The Democrats in the House of Representatives now number 263; the Republicans, 171. The Democrats won 73 new seats in the House, and 9 in the Senate. Labor endorsed 160 candidates; 120 of them were elected. To this victory must be added the numbers of those who went down to defeat in the primaries, because of labor's efforts, and those candidates who, well aware of labor's disapproval, did not attempt to run. A notable case in point is Representative Hartley, of New Jersey.

The most effective work was done on the community level. Sound trucks toured the streets of cities. Tens of thousands of workers rang door bells and spread the message to their neighbors. Election issues were discussed at length in union halls.

The role of the labor press in this country is often underestimated. Labor papers are not sold on news-stands. They are circulated among the members. They are generally well edited, well written. They are competing for attention with the great dailies of mass circulations. Like all other media used by trade unions in this campaign, the union papers presented hard hitting, factual reports to their readers. Workers can recognize facts when they hear

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

McGregor in *Steel Labor*

them. Hard facts are a part of a worker's daily life. The plain truth was convincing.

One of the facts that the country must now face is that workers really do not love the Taft-Hartley law. Popular polls had informed us that the average union member welcomed the law, that it was only the trade union leader who was opposed to it, because he feared the loss of his power and his job. But there aren't enough trade union leaders in the country to have made up Mr. Truman's total vote of 24,104,836!

This writer recalls a talk made early in the spring before an audience at the National Women's Republican Club in New York City. The subject was "Why Labor is in Politics to Stay." When I flatly stated that repeal of the Taft-Hartley law was labor's number one objective in the coming campaign, a deep hush fell over the audience. Their astonishment could be ascribed to either their shock at my bad taste, or their disbelief. If they did give credence to my startling remark (I was told) I was merely talking for the record, mouthing something the labor leaders had told me to say. I couldn't be talking for the workers!

Perhaps the trade union leader was first in his vocal condemnation of the law. The average worker doesn't easily break into print or write letters to the editor. But when he had the chance to register his personal opinion at the polls, his vote on the Taft-Hartley law was the shame of the pollsters.

Labor had another skirmish to fight along with the main battle. That minor engagement, which might have become a decisive battle, was the fight against the Progressive Party. With the exception of a few unions, organized labor was unanimous in its disapproval of the Wallace candidacy. The ideology of its antagonism is well known. But if labor had not pointed out, with clarity and convincing effectiveness, that a vote for Wallace was tantamount to a vote for Governor Dewey, misled "liberals" might have unwittingly helped elect both a President and a Congress completely antithetical to what they really wanted. It must be borne in mind that Wallace waged the longest and the most arduous campaign of any candidate.

Wallace, and the Progressive Party created for his candidacy, was definitely not the third party movement that some segments of organized labor have discussed in the past. A third party movement has been considered by some thoughtful labor leaders in terms of serving the interests of the workers of this country, not adequately represented by the two existing major parties. Perhaps this recent campaign and the decisive victory won by the labor may show the way. Labor can achieve its ends through education of the general public. It can make itself effective politically within the ranks of an existing party.

Third parties in the United States have generally been formed through the merging of already existing forces. A new party has never been successful that was created solely for the candidacy of one man. The Progressive Party, sprung fully armed from the brow of the Communist high command, did not have labor's support because it was not grounded in the labor movement of America. Third parties of the past, such as the Populist Party and the Socialist Party, cannot be compared with the Progressive Party because they were born in answer to some clear-cut need in American life.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Walter Reuther's Automobile Workers are the Democratic Party in Michigan. As trade unionists, they waged the campaign for Truman and liberal Congressmen in that state. It was their educational efforts that combatted the fatalistic defeatism of the Democratic Party. David Dubinsky's Ladies Garment Workers were in the forefront of the battle for Truman in New York State where the fight against the Progressive Party was a major, rather than a minor, engagement. Truman did lose the state, by 60,959 votes, a small amount in the heaviest populated state in the country. It was the Wallace vote that cost Truman New York's 47 electoral votes. But the Liberal Party's rally for President Truman echoed throughout the nation, and the broadcasts which the garment workers paid for were heard outside New York. The I.L.G.W.U., the sparkplug of the A.F.L.'s political activity, works in New York through the Liberal Party, as do the Automobile Workers, the International Association of Machinists, and several other large unions. The great majority of labor-endorsed Congressional candidates and the judiciary won in New York State.

Ask anybody who was campaigning for Truman how he felt during the pre-election fight. He will probably tell you that he felt isolated from popular feeling in the country. Each felt it was a personal battle. The astonishment, when he discovered that the majority of American voters were with him, was a revelation at 11:00 A.M. November 3. This election had a psychological effect on the workers. Besides the thumping victory they have won, they now feel they are not alone.

The civil rights program of President Truman was another campaign issue for which organized labor worked hard. Here was a case where the big city Democratic machines had to go along. They might have thought they had a losing candidate, but the minorities among their industrial populations forced their acceptance of a dynamite-charged issue at the Democratic National Convention, which many of them would have preferred to put away in camphor. The unions saw to it that their members knew about the civil rights program. Often the daily press did not. Again the unions had to point out that the effective way to achieve such a program was not through the Progressive Party, whose stand on the issue was seemingly impeccable, because there was more chance for harm than for success in their program.

The A.F.L. expects the repeal of the Taft-Hartley law. The C.I.O. is united with the A.F.L. in this expectancy. They regard this repeal as the foundation stone for the achievement of their many social aims—upward revision of the minimum wage, strengthening of the Labor Department, and the restoration of its many divisions the Eightieth Congress had shorn away.

Labor worked for the renaissance of the New Deal. And it found the majority of American voters were with them. This is no "one shot" effort. Labor education for political participation will continue. The voters have shown that they listened, read, and approved.

Men we would like to meet: the one who walked off with a 94-foot, 18,000-pound oil derrick in Kilgore, Texas.

Classified ad in the East Side (N. Y.) *News:* "Veteran, wife and 3-months' old baby desperately need unfurnished 3-room apartment. Phone TI 2-1560. If a woman answers, hang up and please call later—it's my mother-in-law and she thinks we're happy living with her."

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

An analysis of parity and support prices

THE HOT POTATO

By MARJORIE FOULKROD
Assistant Editor of Current History

YOUR pay check that shrivels every week to the size of a postage stamp bears a direct relationship to the humble potato in your grocery bin.

The 53 cents you may pay for 10 pounds of highest grade Irish (common) potatoes at the corner grocery may not alarm you. But in 1935 you paid only 23 cents for the same potatoes. At that time, the price for medium grade local potatoes in Philadelphia was 10 pounds for 10 cents, while today potatoes sell for 48 cents. Since 1935-1939, the average weekly wage for factory workers has risen from $22.99 to $52.81.

Although 10 pounds of potatoes cost the consumer only 53 cents, the surplus potato crop for 1948 alone will cost the government over $100 million. The $100 million, like all government costs, must come from taxes; in addition to the 53 cents, you thus pay an indirect price for potato support. The indirect price, like all agricultural subsidies, is set in relation to a parity formula.

The use of the term "parity" goes back to the agitation of farmers after World War I for a fair relationship between the price of farm products and the price of industrial products. The farmer was producing on a vastly increased war-time scale. With the depression of 1920, food prices plummeted downward, but when the United States ceased foreign lending and agriculture revived in Europe, the huge production of agricultural staple products continued. Obvious inequities between farm income and the prices farmers had to pay for the goods they bought became apparent. Income and land values were falling, mortgage interests rates remained fixed, taxes rose.

The farmer wanted to trade on the world market, a patent outlet for his surplus. Efforts were made to "make the tariff effective for agriculture" and various schemes were designed to realize a two-price system—for the domestic and world markets. But good crops abroad and high tariffs passed in retaliation against our agricultural products increased the farmers' plight. From 1929-1933 the per cent of the total gross national income from farm production fell from 14.7 to 9.6. This was due largely to declining foreign demand. In 1932 crop acreage was the greatest it had been since World War I, and farm income was the lowest.

As early as 1922, George Peek, in a pamphlet, "Equality for Agriculture," maintained that a fair exchange value for any crop is in the "same ratio to the current general price index as a 10-year pre-war average crop bore to the average price index for the same period." The statistical base for Mr. Peek's idea came from George Warren's charts and studies of the price movements of farm products published in 1921.

By the late 1920's, computation of the ratio of prices received for farm products and prices paid for goods bought became an established method for determining fair agricultural prices in the Department of Agriculture. With the Agriculture Adjustment Act of 1933, this formula was written into law.

Since that time, the government has guaranteed the farmer a percentage of the parity price in case he could not market his crop at a profit or break even. This government price support set a floor under agricultural prices for each crop, thus protecting the

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

farmer from price collapse and insuring adequate supplies of farm crops.

At the beginning of World War II, government protection to farmers was extended to stimulate increased war production, and price supports were authorized at higher levels for more commodities. These war-time provisions were due to expire in 1948.

Parity prices may be called "fair exchange values," which will maintain the same relationship between the prices of agricultural commodities and the articles farmers buy as existed in a base period when these prices were in equitable balance. Or, in over-simplified terms, if farm machinery, shoes, coats, and fuel are high in price, the prices the farmer receives for his corn, wheat, or potatoes should be in the same ratio as they were in a period when the farm commodity brought a fair return.

PARITY PRICE

For the most part, the years 1910-1914 have been agreed upon as the period when this equitable balance was maintained. Consequently, the "fair exchange value" of corn, or the parity price, is calculated by multiplying the price received by farmers for corn in the base period (August, 1910-July, 1914) by the current index of prices paid, interest, and taxes and dividing by 100. On November 15, 1948, the current parity price per bushel for corn was $1.59; the average price received by farmers for corn in the base period was about 64 cents and the November index of prices paid, including interest and taxes, was 247.

$$\left(\frac{.645 \times 247}{100} = 1.59.\right)$$

Parity would be simple indeed if all commodities would fit into nice patterns, and what holds true for one, holds true for all. But with advancement in technology, consumption and methods of production change. For example, it would not be fair to compute tobacco prices in relation to tobacco prices in a base period of 1910-1914, because since that time the consumption of tobacco has altered drastically. So, in the case of Burley and flue-cured tobacco in current legislation, the price is computed on a base period of August, 1934-July, 1939.

Growers associations and pressure groups large and small for each commodity tend to seek the base period which will result in the most favorable parity price. Every man has his own theories about how the parity price should be computed and what elements should be included in the index of prices. A dispute over including farm labor prices has been carried on, in and out of Congressional hearings, for years.

The index of prices includes several categories: (1) products used for farm maintenance (food, clothing, furniture and furnishings, operating expenses, house building materials); (2) products used in production (feed, bran, farm machinery, seed, fertilizer, equipment and supplies, and building materials). In the farm interest groups there are spokesmen for more fluidity in determining parity prices and spokesmen for an equitable formula developed from a single base period. But no matter how the special interests vie for attention, the parity formula is well entrenched in our agricultural legislation and lies at the base of the government's guarantee to the farmer.

The method of computing parity prices, however, to keep them in line with current conditions is always subject to criticism and change. The Agriculture Act of 1948, a compromise between the Senate "Aiken" bill (S. 2318) and the House bill (H.R. 6248) establishes a new method of computation to be effective on January 1, 1950. To determine the new parity price, you divide the average price received by farmers for the commodity during the preceding 10 years by the ratio of the index of prices received by farmers for all commodities during the same period to the general level of prices received by farmers for agricultural commodities during the base period January, 1910-December, 1914. This is called an "adjusted base price." This adjusted base price is then multiplied by the current index of prices paid, interest, and taxes to obtain the current parity price. This new method of computation modifies the old parity formula by taking into account the more recent market-price trends in the 10-year average.

But computing parity prices by this method is not hard and fast. A clause is inserted for the gradual adjustment downward (not more

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

than 5 per cent per year) of prices that turn out to be lower under the "adjusted base price." Also, if one commodity appears seriously out of line with others, the Secretary may hold hearings and put other methods of computation into effect.

Agricultural planning and legislation cannot be shifted at the drop of a hat. The farmer, if he purchases his seed and plants his crop of potatoes under one set of circumstances, should not be faced with another by the time the crop is harvested. For this reason, the Agriculture Act of 1948 has three levels of price supports: (1) up to December 31, 1948; (2) the calender year 1949; (3) January 1, 1950.

Commodities also are divided into categories. "Basic" commodities are those which are produced in exportable quantities and can be stored for long periods of time. They are wheat, corn, cotton, rice, tobacco, and peanuts. The "Steagall" commodities are those specified by the 1941 Steagall Amendment, passed to stimulate production for war. They are hogs, eggs, chickens (over 3½ pounds liveweight), turkeys, milk and butterfat, dry edible peas, beans of certain varieties, soybeans, peanuts, and flaxseed for oil, American-Egyptian cotton, potatoes, and sweetpotatoes. The third category is simply "other" commodities.

MANDATORY SUPPORT

Until the end of December, price support for basic and Steagall commodities was mandatory, for other commodities "permissive." For Steagall commodities (potatoes are one), support at not less than 90 per cent of parity is called for. On November 15, potatoes were selling for $1.44 per bushel, the average price; the parity price was $1.83; the government support price was then $1.65.

In 1949, the new legislation provides for support of basic commodities at 90 per cent of parity, of Steagall commodities at not less than 60 per cent or more than 90 per cent of parity, with a few exceptions which include the 1948 crop of Irish potatoes, guaranteed support at 90 per cent.

The Secretary of Agriculture is granted authority to require farmers to comply with production goals and marketing regulations as a condition of eligibility for price support for all non-basic commodities (except wool).

After January 1, 1950, the Steagall group will be eliminated. One support schedule will hold for basic crops, another for non-basic, but again with special provisions for wool and Irish potatoes.

Basic commodities are provided with a schedule of minimum price supports with a moving floor from 60 per cent of parity (when the "total supply" is more than 130 per cent of the "normal supply"), up to 90 per cent (when the "total supply" is 70 per cent of the "normal supply"). This section of the bill is the most highly controversial one, the debate hinging on a satisfactory formula for computing "normal supply."

Non-basic commodities have authorized support at any level up to 90 per cent of parity, but Irish potatoes must also receive support at between 60 and 90 per cent of parity. In all cases, the farmer, to be eligible for support, must comply with the acreage allotments, production goals, and marketing practices, but the producers may vote on the Department of Agriculture's marketing-quota proposals. And if they vote it down, the U.S.D.A. must support prices at 50 per cent of the new parity.

The total effect of the new legislation is to lower support levels and to make price support authority more flexible.

The Department of Agriculture administration can determine how its price support operations will be carried out, whether by direct purchases or commodity loans or a combination of both.

Amos Brown, a farmer in Aroostock County, Maine, the largest potato producing county in the United States, finds that his current crop of Irish potatoes, harvested late in a year of high production, will bring only a small percentage of the parity price. Since he has complied with both the allotments and quotas, he is eligible for government assistance. He informs the U.S.D.A. early in the marketing year (which begins July 1 for late potatoes) how much of his potato yield he wishes to declare eligible for price support. The Department agrees to purchase at a later date any quantity of potatoes up to the number he has offered at the support level. This is a "purchase agreement." The government will

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

then buy the potatoes at 90 per cent of parity (through the marketing year).

If Amos Brown had taken a loan from the Commodity Credit Corporation on his 1948 crop, he could either have repaid the loan and service charges and marketed his crop through the normal channels or could relinquish his entire yield, if it proved more profitable.

When the government acquires a commodity under price support legislation, it has several choices of how to dispose of it. First, it can be sold or used for the school lunch programs of welfare and public-supported institutions. Or, it can be used for the Army or Navy, for foreign relief, for export, or for any other non-competitive purposes. But it is not always easy to find outlets for all commodities.

POTATO SURPLUS

The potato surplus is not a new problem, nor one that, as many believe, was ushered in by the Steagall Amendment. In the 14 years since 1934, a constant surplus of potatoes has been recorded in all but three years. In 1932, with total production at 376,425,000 bushels, at least 1,689,000 bushels of potatoes were left in the ground. The low year for potato surplus was 1942, when the government had to buy only 6,000 bushels. In 1943, the surplus figure jumped to 34,056,000 bushels, 260,000 of which were lost through spoilage.

But in 1946 a 56-million-bushel surplus came to the public eye. The whole world beyond the Atlantic and Pacific was starving and the press in the United States carried the story of destruction of surplus potatoes in South Carolina. Thousands of bushels were spread in a field, painted blue, and allowed to rot.

It was rightly concluded at the time that something should be done either about increasing the known surplus outlets for potatoes or production should be drastically curtailed.

In 1946, the potato surplus came to 56 million bushels and cost the taxpayer $39.5 million. In 1947, a surplus occurred again, despite a cut in acreage to 2,147,000; the 1948 crop gives promise of about 80 million bushels surplus.

The reasons for the tremendous recent crops are varied. People just don't eat as many potatoes. The per capita annual consumption has fallen from 185.3 pounds in 1910, to 125 in 1946, and 118 in 1948. The experts all mention the preoccupation of American women with the ideal slim figure as one important factor in this slump. But the experts also report higher consumption of products such as milk and meats due to higher earnings.

Even though the Department has cut acreage allotments, the yield per acre has steadily increased. This is due to better seed, new insecticides, fungicides, heavy fertilization, and, as in the case of 1948, very good weather for potatoes.

The Eightieth Congress's Subcommittee on Food Shortage of the House Committee on Agriculture held hearings in June, 1947, on potato surpluses and prevention of waste. Various recommendations for integrated research on utilization of potatoes and improvements in marketing were made. The Potato Advisory Committee encouraged non-food uses of potatoes and improvements in technology in the production of potato glucose and starch as well as finding more economical ways of using potatoes for dry feed and ensilage. Research, they asserted, is also needed on more economical dehydration, other means of preserving whole, ground, or sliced potatoes, transformation of potatoes into lactic acid, and chemical control of storage. The Committee recommended investigation of markets for potato flour.

Early in 1948 when the government found itself faced with a new surplus, it made many efforts through the marketing medium to encourage intelligent marketing of potatoes.

It made surveys of what the housewives liked to find in stores—potatoes in open bags so that the size and grade are visible. In numerous pamphlets, each with recipes of "Potato Cheese Surprise" and "Potato Nests with Eggs," the Production and Marketing Administration encouraged the public to eat more potatoes, and restaurateurs to serve more potatoes. They urged retailers to package larger quantities and wholesalers to speed potatoes into retail channels at the earliest part of the season. The producer was encouraged to sort potatoes into uniform sizes

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and grades and to send only those with "eye appeal" to the market. Information was available to all the press and radio stations on the food values and palatability of the potato.

The application of the advertising technique to the potato, however, could only be effective if it could increase the per capita consumption of potatoes to the point where it was in 1910. This in turn would cut down consumption of the more attractive substitutes, meat and dairy products. It might even effect drastic social changes such as an increase in the weight of the American people or a return of the heavy breakfast.

In March and April it became obvious that this year's yield would be excessive. Of the estimated 2,137,700 acres planted (about 125,000 acres less than the established goal), the yield is estimated at about 431 million bushels. Of these, only about 350 million are expected to go through normal use and marketing channels.

But the Department of Agriculture really has a hot potato on its hands this year. By August it had already bought 12 million bushels at a loss of $20 million. By the end of October, the figure was 56 million bushels. With the season only half over, the losses of the U.S.D.A. for the 1948 crop alone will probably exceed the entire monetary gains which have accrued to the Commodity Credit Corporation during the 15 years of its support and procurement operations. In the long run it looks as if the public is left holding the bag.

After the public protest at allowing surplus potatoes to rot in the Carolina woods, and the potato hearings of June, 1947, the Department made strenuous efforts to dispose of the spuds in some useful manner. Some have gone into industrial alcohol. Some have been *given* to farmers for livestock feed. Other outlets have been used: institutions, dehydration for export, storage, and research. But 1.5 million bushels have been converted to potato flour for distribution overseas. The potatoes were sold to the millers for 9 cents a bushel; the flour was bought back for $6.75-$7.00 per hundredweight (more than wheat flour would cost). (And the U.S.D.A. may also have to buy wheat before the year ends.)

Under the terms of the new Agriculture Act of 1948, Secretary Brannan has announced that the U.S.D.A. will support potato prices at 60 per cent of parity (with deep regret, but with a record of at least $100 million worth of expenditures for one crop). The total acreage allotment has been cut to 1,938,300 acres for 1949 Irish potatoes. (This does not follow the calendar year, however, and the government will be supporting potatoes at the 1948 price—90 per cent of parity—through March, at least.)

In so far as possible, Secretary Brannan places the blame on Congress for not providing the Department of Agriculture any effective mechanism for adjustment and control of excess production except by dropping the price support sharply. He does not, however, go deeper into the nature of parity price supports.

The result of the policy of subsidies is the continually increasing carry-over or surplus for which there is not always a market even at a give-away price. From the point of view of the community, this is simply subsidizing waste; destruction of surpluses, while part of the world is starving, is hard to defend. From the farmer's point of view, however, subsidy or no subsidy, he must buy goods made by city people at the prevailing wages, which are, as quoted above, two and a half times what they averaged in 1935-1939. Potato prices for medium grades have increased over three times.

Perhaps the blame for this years' surplus can be placed on insecticides and good weather or maybe it falls on the Department of Agriculture for improper surveys and estimates of acreage allotments in terms of yield. It may fall on the farmer, who with the government guarantee behind him, might, in certain cases, crowd his best acreage with a high return crop.

But the fact remains that this situation has not only occurred in 1948, but year after year, and the public continues to pay the bill.

Fame is chiefly a matter of dying at the right moment. —*Partners*

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

More Than

FIFTY YEARS OF FORUM

The weaknesses of the American educational system were of as much concern 34 years ago as they are today. In 1914 a FORUM contributor, a professor of Freshman English, comments on the knowledge he found in his class:

Robert Louis Stevenson was an Englishman of the seventeenth century who wrote Robinson Crusoe. . . . . *Samuel Johnson was habitually confused with his namesake of the missing letter; not a soul knew him as the Swan of Lichfield. Lord Jeffreys was not, as I had expected him to be, confused with the late vanquished and vanished pugilist of a similar name, but he was, in the concurrent opinion of the whole class, 'a famous judge—or essayist—or dramatist—that lived in the fifteenth, sixteenth, seventeenth, or eighteenth century.' Thomas B. Macaulay had written but two things:* The Lays of Ancient Rome *and* The Essay on Burns *or* Johnson *or* Milton *—the author discussed by Macaulay varying with those students who had entered under different entrance requirements. . . . . Shelley was English; that was a certain fact, although some of the students hinted vaguely of some connection with Italy; nothing was known as to the titles or nature of his contributions to literature; he was born in the seventeenth century. Edward Fitzgerald was an absolute unknown, although most of the class could glibly quote a line or two from* The Rubáiyát. . . . .

Macbeth *and* Hamlet *appeared not as masterpieces of dramatic literature, but as a couple of 'required texts' to be read only with notes, to be memorized in parts, and speedily forgotten as so much* junk*—to employ the genuine word of the student. . . . . Pope was a man who wrote something in the thirteenth century, although by some his existence was doubted. Walt Whitman—one man had heard of him—was a modern Englishman who wrote 'novels and the like.' Poe was merely a drunkard and 'dope fiend who hit the pipe too often.' What little he wrote was mostly detective stories inspired by 'his drug-haunted dreams.' Longfellow wrote* Snowbound *and had lived somewhere in New England.*

Why this amazing amount of misinformation on the part of students who had come from the best secondary schools, children of wealthy and supposedly cultured parents? Says the author:

We are a complacent nation; money is our divining and measuring rod; even in education; we spend millions in training our youth; our youth is the inferior of none in potential intelligence. Therefore, we have no cause to assume that aught but the best result is obtained! Yet contrasted with the French and German youth in the point of both definite and broad knowledge, we invariably come out second best. And the reason is this: from the kindergarten to the university, the American student is given *knowledge; it is parcelled out to him in neat "tabloid" doses; he has but to swallow, and the process of education is completed. The Continental student is trained to* seek *knowledge for himself; he is taught how to study for himself and by himself.*

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

JASPER R. LEWIS

Books in brief

Not so long ago the mere mention of psychiatry insinuated one of two things—crime or insanity. Currently, the subject has become so popular that one hears it mentioned in daily life almost as often as vitamins. The regular appearance of books on the topic is proof, witness three new volumes, each with some message.

The Commonsense Psychiatry of Dr. Adolf Meyer, edited by Alfred Lief (McGraw-Hill, $6.50), is an example of conservative application of the principles of the science to everyday affairs. In this volume, Lief gives in narrative form a biographical sketch of Dr. Meyer, and 52 selected papers by the doctor, some of them dating back to the late 1890's. What strikes the reader in these offerings is the sincere approach to everyday problems. Dr. Meyer discusses, among other things, the need for the application of psychiatry to those we call "criminals." In one of the papers we find this waiving of professional reticence: "One of the first things that has proved of value in this direction (the study of hysteria) has been the abandonment of fussing over the supposed elements of psychology and the attempts to explain the chain of events out of such elements. It proved to be much more satisfactory to speak in terms of situation, reaction, and final adjustment. . . ."

That is something even the lay reader can understand. It is, of course, not easy for one not a psychologist to grasp fully all the implications of these papers, but there is enough plain English to give an idea of the importance of psychiatric analysis of some of our problems. The question of insanity, permanent or temporary, is discussed in clinical form. Dr. Meyer's views of 40 years ago hold up with present principles; he was well in advance of his times. "Whenever we say that a patient is insane, we say no more than that he is sick, and that the disorder is one of the kinds of disorder of conduct and behavior demanding certain special precautions of management and ....protection....." That was written in 1908.

There are the usual implications of Freud in sex problems, although Dr. Meyer is not as emphatic on this angle as other psychiatrists have been and are. He seems to consider these things as part of the human equation, possibly beyond solution but open to amelioration. Some of the papers, undoubtedly intended only for the medical fraternity, are sufficiently graphic to present the basic case for psychiatry and the system of investigation used by its practitioners. In a paper on "Training the Doctors," for instance, the doctor shows why it is necessary to educe every available fact of a patient's history, which to the unbeliever frequently seems bunk. This is covered by his statement: "Medical psychology consists largely in the determination of the actual life history and experiences and concrete reactions of the patient." One might say that here is an analytical study of man and his troubles.

Crime and the Mind, by Walter Bromberg, M.D. (Lippincott, $4.50), is intended for the professional student of the topic. Dr. Bromberg uses case histories from several sources, notably the Court of General Sessions in New York City. As former director of the Psychiatric Clinic of that court, and senior psychiatrist at Bellevue Psychiatric Hospital, he had ample opportunities for study. Dr. Bromberg reviews the history of crime insofar as the quest for motives is concerned, and develops the growth of psychopathic investigation of causes.

The study of individual cases is useful principally to show that while each is to be handled in a distinct manner, there are certain general facts upon which to base definite con-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

clusions. The same approach is noted as was made by Dr. Meyer: the fact that many, if not most, of the criminals classified as neurotics are to be diagnosed as mentally ill, and that society owes them proper study and assistance —enforced, if need be—to endeavor to cure them.

Dr. Bromberg covers the legal and social environment of the criminal, and also the individual criminal, devoting sections to the various types, the paranoid, schizoid, and other psychopaths. There is a chapter on the treatment of criminals by psychotherapy, both for individuals and in institutions. It is a study of possibly the worst cases requiring psychiatric treatment, but it is an important part of the subject.

One other and yet not different approach is contained in *Psychiatry and Religion,* edited with an introduction by the late Joshua Loth Liebman (Beacon Press, $3.00). This consists of 15 papers, delivered at Temple Israel Institute of Religion and Psychiatry, Boston, a year ago. There is a plea for the coordination of religious tenets and the principles of psychiatry, which would appear sound, as requiring intelligent study of both. As Otis F. Kelly, in a chapter on "Substituting Psychiatry for Religion," puts it: "We (the clergy) should seek to learn what psychiatrists have to teach about human beings, but we should be on guard against letting psychiatry become a substitute for religion, and there is great danger of that today. And if the clergymen don't get together and save the day, soon there will be no religion and there will be all psychiatry. . . . ." There are papers on institutional care for mental cases, and also on the individual and his environment, involving some case histories of childhood. Here again there are some excellent and sane thoughts on the problem, free of bias and looking toward a formula for helping those who need the readjusting influences of psychiatry. One need not be a clergyman or psychiatrist to find interest and inspiration in the book.

BRIEFER COMMENT

GENERAL INTEREST

Some thoughts on life and how to live it are in *The Open Self,* by Charles Morris (Prentice-Hall, $3.00). Dr. Morris is a philosopher with faith in human nature, and while he knows there is no royal road, his message seems to be that man must keep an open mind, that we are all different, yet must live together. The application of a sound and comprehensive philosophy to life's problems is both educational and helpful. There is much in it for the reader who likes to think for himself.

Even at this late date, raking the coals on the heads of the bureaucrats is bound to make interesting reading. *The War Lords of Washington,* by Bruce Catton (Harcourt, Brace, $3.00), is the "inside story of big business versus the people in World War II." Catton was director of information for the War Production Board, and the W.P.B. is his main target. Here is the tale of personal jealousy, bickering, maneuvering for power or position, and programs, well told and enlightening.

The Liberal Presidents, a Study of the Liberal Tradition in the American Presidency, by J. C. Long (Crowell, $3.75), goes back in our history to point out the author's choice of liberals. There is a good deal of history to bring out the background, be it of the times of Jefferson, Jackson, or either Roosevelt. Long gives his own evaluations of men, whether Harding or Hoover, and it is interesting to follow his arguments. The reader will not always agree with him, but there is plenty of detail to describe important events.

Introduction to Economic Science, by George Soule (Viking, $2.50), might be called a handbook on the subject for the man on the street. Soule explains the meaning of many of the terms and premises of the economists, with brief but detailed explanations to show the problems of national income, and deficit spending. Even the machinery of bank loans and the Federal Reserve system are discussed. It is worth the attention of the taxpayer and businessman, or anyone else.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BIOGRAPHY

Yeats, the Man and the Masks, by Richard Ellmann (Macmillan, $5.00), is based in part on unpublished MSS. opened to the author's inspection in Dublin by Mrs. Yeats. Biographically it is limited to brief glimpses of the poet's life, but it is extensive in its critical approach to Yeat's work. Ellmann gives interesting word pictures of the background, both the country and the intelligentsia.

The record of a lifetime spent in the ranks of labor is *Tomorrow Is Beautiful,* by Lucy Robins Lang (Macmillan, $3.50). Moved some fifty odd years ago from her native Russia to a bountiful America, the author took an active interest in labor problems, and Socialism. She writes of Gompers, Green, Emma Goldman, and others. She seems to approve of anarchists, mentioning the "seven anarchist martyrs of the eighties." Somehow one gets the impression that Mrs. Lang believes she and her friends became real Americans; the reader will feel that she represents only one side of the American scene.

Proof of the adage about truth being stranger than fiction, *Bet a Million!* by Lloyd Wendt and Herman Kogan (Bobbs-Merrill, $3.50), is the biography of the late John W. Gates. Farm boy, wire salesman, and promoter, he was what the newspapers call an "industrialist of the old school." Mergers, double-crossing, and ruining of competitors all went into the day's work. And you can learn something of Wall Street and finance from the pages dealing with the 1907 panic, when Morgan gunned for—and got—Tennessee Coal and Iron for U. S. Steel practically with the blessing of Theodore Roosevelt the trust buster.

MISCELLANEOUS

The Whole of Their Lives, by Benjamin Gitlow (Scribner's, $3.50), is about communism in America. Gitlow calls it "a personal history and intimate portrayal of its leaders." Gitlow, an early Communist here and an organizer of the party, should know his subject, at least up to the day of his expulsion from the party. He tells, too, of some of the purging of comrades, even here in America, and of the competition between the top ranking Reds in Moscow. If it isn't all new or "inside" information, it should be instructive.

Little Annie Oakley and Other Rugged People, by Stewart H. Holbrook (Macmillan, $3.50), is a collection of his "fugitive pieces" —those which have already appeared in magazines. They are mostly of people and events in back history—Jesse James, Buffalo Bill, Burt L. Standish (creator of Frank Merriwell, Ned Buntline and others).

The second annual volume in the Centenary Series of American Literature *100 Years Ago,* American Writing of 1848, Edited by James P. Wood (Funk & Wagnalls, $5.00), carries some of the famous and some of the lesser known works of its era. In addition to Thoreau and Lowell, there are selections from H. N. Hudson, W. Gilmore Sims, Charles W. Webber, and Ned Buntline and his "Mysteries and Miseries of New York."

The legislative and historical aspects of the Medal of Honor are given in a formidable volume, *The Medal of Honor of the U. S. Army* (U.S. Government Printing Office, $4.50). It contains illustrations, names of recipients since establishment, citations, pictures of World War II winners.

The fourth and final volume of the *Album of American History, End of an Era,* James Truslow Adams, Editor in Chief (Scribner's, $7.50), brings this pictorial history up to the year 1917. Here is the story of the Gay Nineties, the War with Spain, the advent of the horseless carriage. Art, drama, fashion, all offer nostalgia to those who were then young, and an introduction to yesterday for the youth of today.

An adventure into the mysteries of the kitchen, and of good eating, waits for you in *The Unprejudiced Palate,* by Angelo Pellegrini (Macmillan, $3.00). The author, a college instructor, discusses the fine art of cooking, particularly of Italian dishes. With him his native cuisine, plus the temperate use of wines, constitutes one of life's privileges. Pellegrini, a native of Tuscany, doesn't rave as much over anti-pasto as he should, nor can I find mention of that queen of cheeses, *Belle Paese.* In spots the book is almost Rabelaisian.

An interesting guide to that city, *About Boston,* Sight, Sound, Flavor and Inflection, by David McCord (Doubleday, $2.50), offers

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

comments and observations on things to see or things McCord has sensed. A Harvard man, he gives some of the "atmosphere" of the old school and some of the history. It is pleasant reading, even for non-Bostonians.

A little volume of the odd is *Orpheus,* A Symposium of the Arts, Edited by John Lehmann (New Directions, $4.00). With poems, short stories, articles on art and illustrations, it is something off the beaten track. It succeeds an earlier publication, *New Writing and Daylight.*

FICTION

A novel about the farming Negro in Texas, his troubles, whether owner or tenant farmer, is *High John, the Conqueror,* by John W. Wilson (Macmillan, $2.50). Complicated by the white landowner's venture across the color line toward the wife of the central figure, the story reveals a hopeless struggle against the powers that be.

Bride of Fortune, by Harnett T. Kane (Doubleday, $2.75), is half love story and half the story of the Confederacy. The novel is based on the life of Varina Howell, who became Mrs. Jefferson Davis. From Mississippi cotton country to Washington, then back to the South after Secession, the narrative unfolds its picture of mutual devotion amid the trials of the Civil War and its aftermath.

A war story, but this time by a German about Germans, makes *Stalingrad,* by Theodor Plievier (Appleton-Century-Crofts, $3.00), somewhat different. The author relates the bitterness, from the German soldiers' side, of the siege of Stalingrad and the hopelessness of the rank and file. It is well told and a strong document. It is said to have sold more than a million copies in Europe, and is translated into English by Richard and Clara Winston.

Scott Graham Williamson can be unpleasantly realistic. *A Convoy Through the Dream* (Macmillan, $3.50), is a story of the recent war. Its central figure, turned down by the armed forces, goes into the merchant marine in quest of the answer to the terrible threat hanging over civilization. What happened to him and to his wife, left at home, is less important physically than spiritually. Williamson knows life and people. His earlier *Fiesta at Anderson's House* was shorter, rougher, and better, but this book is also good.

Eliahu Epstein, Israel's diplomatic representative in Washington, was riding in a cab when the driver began a slam-bang political talk. Suspicious because the diplomat remained quiet, the driver demanded to know where he was from. Epstein replied vaguely: "Why, I'm from the Middle East."

"The Middle East," the driver repeated in surprise, "now I've heard of the Middle West, but the Middle East—never!"

—Jerry Klutz in *The Washington Post*

During the war, a very punctilious British officer was a long way from the resources of civilization. He sent for his first sergeant one day and asked him how long it was since the men had changed shirts.

"A month, sir," was the reply.

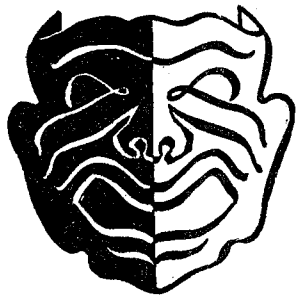
"But the regulations state that the men must change their shirts once a week, at least."

"They haven't any shirts to change into, sir," explained the top-kick.

"Then let them change shirts with each other."

—*Wiesbaden Post*

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



The THEATRE ARTS

by John Gassner

Of all the plays produced this season, it is a musical comedy, *Love Life,* that commends itself as a contribution to the advance of theatrical art—in spite of the possibility of registering dissatisfaction with it both as continuous entertainment or finished artistry. The book and lyrics by Alan Jay Lerner and the score by the renowned Kurt Weill are crudely joined and have a roughness of surface that drew a mixed press and that would have normally spelled disaster on Broadway. That *Love Life* has managed to hold its own at the Forty-Sixth Street Theatre is due in part to its dealing with the very viable subject of marriage in the United States. It is a topic that unquestionably stands at the head of any list of subject matter for which there is a popular market. But I should like to suggest that *Love Life* exerts a fascination of form and technique, too. The average playgoer (I don't know what an average playgoer really is, unless we mean the person who goes to the theatre without any particular intellectual or esthetic intention), may not be able to define that fascination, but it may be suspected that he feels it.

Love Life is subtitled "a vaudeville," and a touch of that virtually extinct genre is present. Actually, this musical comedy is a chronicle and leans toward the *Cavalcade* type of drama, but with a difference, since both its vaudeville and chronicle character are in the service of the kind of documentary and pedagogic drama that used to be called a *Lehrstueck* in Germany. The "learning play" became domesticated here under the title of "living newspapers." The W.P.A. Federal Theatre gave it a high estate and considerable currency with such New Deal pieces as *Power* and *One-third of a Nation,* the former dealing with the history of electric power in the United States and the latter with the problem of slum clearance.

If we find this equivalent of documentary films invading the preserves of musical entertainment, it does not prove that wonders will never cease. For one thing, the musical play is the one developing form of art in the American theatre since the extinction of the Federal Theatre. For another, the "learning play," more broadly called "epic drama" by its German founders Berthold Brecht and the director Erwin Piscator, is the one stage form of our century which can combine vaudeville, chronicle, and musical comedy techniques in an amalgam suitable for the expression of important modern ideas. It is, in a sense, the drama of the future, if the future is to continue and extend sociological trends in the arts—or at least our general concern with the complexities of social and economic machinery.

What Lerner and Weill, who was identified with Brecht's work in Germany, have done is to compose a sort of sociology of marriage, emphasizing the effect of the industrial age and economic pressures, including women's entry into the business world. "Economics," says the musical, is "tough on love," and this is a far cry from the sentimental celebrations of love and romance indigenous to musical comedy even at its best, as in *Show Boat, Oklahoma,* and *Carousel. Love Life* introduces the problem with old vaudeville acts of levitation and sawing a body in half; the vaudeville is here no longer a matter for idle wonder but symbolic language for the fact that, with respect to marriage, modern man is

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

up in the air and modern woman has a divided personality. The man is up in the air in the sense that he doesn't have a firm basis as husband and master of his household, while the woman is split into two persons as wife and breadwinner. That this was not the case prior to the industrial revolution in America is established in the second number of *Love Life*. The beginning of the division in marriage comes after a sardonic number called "Progress" and as the climax to a charming tribute to the vanishing idyllic life in the best number of the show, "Green-Up Time." Soon, married life is comparable to the trapeze act of the seventh number, and the family tots have good reason to launch into their dismal song "Mother's Getting Nervous." As time goes winging in this telescopic history, we arrive at the high noon of the American divorce rate expressed in "Punch and Judy Get A Divorce," a superb ballet extravaganza, and the travesty on the compensation mechanisms of disoriented Americans, such as fashionable astrology, theosophy, and Hollywood idealization.

Nanette Fabray and Ray Middleton are the American couple, and they are well chosen to carry the chronicle. It is supplied with effective choreography by Michael Kidd, an excellent orchestra under the distinguished musical conductor, Joseph Littau, and is otherwise abetted by the scene designer, Boris Aronson; the costumer, Lucinda Ballard; and the dynamic director, Elia Kazan.

The fact that *Love Life* can impress us as only a half-baked musical is of less import than that it is pregnant with possibilities for intelligent non-realistic theatre. And lest I be misunderstood, I hasten to add that it is precisely in non-realistic theatre that the greatest possibilities lie. It alone can serve social realism fully in our time, since the Ibsenite type of unified, prosaic, individual case history drama whittles down the size of contemporary issues and oversimplifies contemporary problems. If our object is to expose and explore them, then old-fashioned realism is an inadequate procedure. Its inviolable and universally valid task is something else—the dramatization of individual crises and decisions, the question of personal responsibility, the Henry James outlook which is at the core of such a piece of contemporary realism as *The Little Foxes*. For these calculations of the constant of morality, and they will always be important, realism is an already well-founded form, its evolution is complete, and its results depend upon the sureness and sensitivity of the playwright.

For the variables of social history and the complex of social determinants, we need a more comprehensive kind of dramaturgy, and *Love Life* has this configuration. The producer, Cheryl Crawford, formerly a director of the socially alert Group Theatre, may be startled by the extravagant claims I have made for her musical comedy, but Miss Crawford was certainly not unaware that *Love Life* was a departure from conventional theatre. It is vitally important that this effort should receive full acknowledgment, and it would be unfortunate if it were allowed to remain an isolated one simply because it is not a triumphant piece of musical comedy showmanship. The extent of its significance should be apparent to anyone who is in a position to compare *Love Life* with such a musical as *Where's Charlie?* which at its very best (and it is that only when the inimitable Ray Bolger is on the scene), constitutes only a lark as plot and a miscellany of dances as showmanship.

How limited for the purposes of a criticism of life or society our conventional drama really is can be well exemplified by the current comedy success, *Good-bye, My Fancy*. Miss Fay Kanin's play belongs to a type of showmanship that may be called "comedy of liberalism," of which *Born Yesterday* and *State of the Union* were more finished predecessors. Its formula, and it actually is formula drama, consists of a liberal-minded individual's triumph over reactionaries and their lackeys. In Miss Kanin's piece, a liberal lady journalist, a kind of obverse Clare Luce, discovers that the college president she had long worshiped is a time-serving and timid administrator. She makes this discovery in time to cancel her plans to marry him, contenting herself with a dashing photographer who may serve the Luce organization for his livelihood but keeps his private soul inviolate—whatever that may mean. She also blackmails the don to allow the girls of his college to view a progressive film made by herself—the greatly

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

endowed lady journalist, whose greatest endowment happens to be the fact that the engaging Madeleine Carroll has been chosen to protray her under the very smooth direction of Sam Wanamaker. Personal charm wins the day for "liberalism," and both its proponents and antagonists wage a Lilliputian war of slight consequence and questionable resolution. On the more modest level of personal relationships, there are pleasant enough moments, such as the arrival of the heroine in the proper nostalgic mood for an honorary degree from the college which had expelled her as a student for a rendezvous with the future president. Some excellent humor concerns the liberating effects of alcohol on a female professor of sex hygiene, and the personal drama of the president's daughter, played by the highly promising newcomer Bethel Leslie. But the pleasantries of the evening are one thing, and its claims to attention as social drama are another. It is spurious drama, even if it has been made very acceptable for the undemanding.

Edna Ferber's and George S. Kaufman's *Bravo* is an even apter illustration of how minuscule are the results when playwrights busy themselves with the trickery of plot and try to make it the carrier of some sort of significance. The theme is the respectable one of disorientation, and the story revolves around the efforts of a Central European playwright and sundry other exiles to strike new roots in American soil. An able cast, which includes Oscar Homolka, Lili Darvas, Frank Conroy, the charming Christiane Grautoff, and the veteran Edgar Stehli, founders in a mess of complications altogether antipathetic to the objective of wresting simple and affecting reality from artificial playwriting. Three or four characters created with a sufficiency of truth would have been far more effective than all the wily, calculated plotting of two expert contrivers of Broadway theatre. Theatricality and truth are in conflict whenever, as in *Bravo,* the authors choose to make truth marketable or theatricality truthful in the literal manner of realism.

Lest we go too far in the direction of a suspicion that Miss Ferber and Mr. Kaufman were merely victims of a lifetime professional habit of playing for plaudits with truth as their football, it is worth noting that the same adulteration of reality occurs in the work of a Broadway newcomer, Richard Nash, in *The Young and the Fair.* It insinuates itself into a play, and a sincerely intended one, in which the author treats the evils and shortcomings of fashionable junior colleges, and even the piling up of evidence in a variety of cases which should substantiate the charge deprives *The Young and the Fair* of conviction. Against the impression of threads being energetically pulled and knotted primarily for "plot," even Harold Clurman's excellent direction of a highly talented cast (it includes a real discovery in the young actress Julie Harris), is unable to prevail. Kleptomania, homosexuality, anti-Semitism, fascist tendencies, and other unsavory ingredients are elements discoverable in the kind of institution Mr. Nash is describing. It is from their being used for conventional suspense and discovery, and not in their being exposed (as they would be in a "learning play"), that the sense of truth suffers. So long as a playwright considers himself obligated to contrive a story and at the same time pretend that it is a "true" story, we shall have a theatre that fails to be truthful on the one hand and truly theatrical on the other. Only where truth on the literal plane is not required by dramatic convention (as in musical comedy and in the styles of expressionism and the "learning play"), or where theatricality is offered for its own pleasurable sake or for the purposes of a fable, is the playwright likely to succeed. Perhaps the only exception to this rule exists where "plot" and significance happen to be co-existential as in *The Little Foxes* or *A Streetcar Named Desire*—or, let us say, in some of the older masterpieces of realism like Ibsen's *Hedda Gabler* or Strindberg's *The Father.*

In the extremely popular *Life with Mother,* for example, the story of how "Mother" manages to get an engagement ring from Father Day is so completely a traditional lark now after the long-lived *Life with Father* that it doesn't occur to us to use the yardstick of reality or truth. With Howard Lindsay and Dorothy Stickney playing the game with their traditional facility, we can sit back and play the game of "how momma gets the better of poppa" with them. We do this un-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

reservedly, enjoying the neatness of the proceedings, the verbal display, the period charm, and the manner in which the old values of *Life with Father* reappear in *Life with Mother.* The result is a gay evening for the playgoer, a bank holiday that nobody pretends to vend as psychological nourishment, as a cathartic satire, or a preachment. And when this is the case, every little insight or observation that comes our way from the comedy is welcomed as something unexpected and "extra."

In the case of the Theatre Guild production, *The Silver Whistle,* Robert E. McEnroe's little comedy of an old people's home, the element of fable determines the play-acting. The author tells the story of how a tramp revives spirits and hopes in the "home" and incidentally puts a little life and romance into a young clergyman. The tramp, brilliantly played by José Ferrer, does this by inducing illusions among the hopelessly resigned and a sense of achievement among those who have lost any particular desire for self-realizing activity. On the philosophical level, the content is banal, and on the psychological plane, the play is patently facile. But none of these shortcomings are likely to lessen whatever humor and tenderness there are in *The Silver Whistle.* There is no conflict between truth and fiction where there are no pains taken to conceal the imaginative nature of the production; no conflict of interests between reality and theatricality where the entire spirit of the piece is frankly theatrical. Consequently, too, any symbolic value that manifests itself for the playgoer is not subjected by him to the scrutiny of his logic, nor vitiated by any rigorous demands for evidence. These values, if he finds them, can then serve as an additional gratification. He can leave the theatre in the case of *The Silver Whistle,* convinced that he has seen a charming and heartwarming little play, and he finds a sufficiency in it without actually being profoundly stirred or particularly enlightened. The tradition of great theatre lies somewhere else, of course, and it is not advanced by "Silver Whistles." Only the naïve will make the mistake of thinking that it is. But at least it does not outrage one's sensibilities or common sense.

Grounds for complaint: A Philadelphia wholesale coffee house has this motto: "Our business is a daily grind."

Winning a million bucks at the race track is now within the realm of the possible, if you're a horse. —*Washington Star*

Statistics show that couples living in trailers have fewer divorces than others. There is a certain incentive to a man to hold onto a wife who, when she goes back to mother, can take the house along with her.

—Bill Vaughan, *Kansas City Star*

Two matrons were discussing the Kinsey Report. "Of course, my dear," said one, "my objection is that it was written by a man. I'm sure it would have been much better done by someone like Emily Post." —*New York Star*

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

COUNTRY COMMENT

My perspective on personal security has changed recently. I never used to consider myself an exceptionally secure man. But it now seems that in comparison with the President of the United States I enjoy greater security than I was aware of.

I had thought of the President—in these days when he is never assassinated—as being about as secure as a human being could be. He is magnificently protected from bullets and bombs by the Secret Service, the F.B.I., the ordinary police, and the House Committee on Un-American Activities. In time of war he has, as Commander-in-chief of the army, millions of uniformed men between him and the enemy. Even small details of daily health, such as head colds and minor indispositions, are watched over by I don't know how many doctors.

And yet, I now learn, this seemingly most secure of men has been living in constant jeopardy. His house has been in danger of collapse. *The New York Times* quotes the head of the Public Building Administration as saying: "If it weren't the President's house, we'd have it condemned.——The second floor is staying up there purely from habit."

An amazing revelation, this, of how the floor vibrated during receptions and the chandeliers swayed. Of how the ceiling of the East Room sagged, and the grand marble stairway began to come apart. Of how a leg of the President's daughter's grand piano went through the floor right above the family dining room.

A Secret Service man can guard the President from bombs and bullets, but what can he do about a chandelier that dangles like the Sword of Damocles?

I cannot help contrasting my own position with that of the President. Since my house is all on one floor, I am not threatened by a single stairway hazard. A whole army, indeed the entire State Department, could tramp into my house (a few at a time) and out again and never cause one crystal chandelier to tremble. And the worst that my piano (not a grand one, to be sure) has been able to do during the eight years that it has stood here is to make four small dents in the plain pine flooring. If it ever does go through the floor, it can drop only one or two feet before striking solid ground.

I do not wish to seem smug about this. The President, I admit, has many advantages I do not enjoy. He commands many resources that are beyond my reach. He will always have the Secret Service, the F.B.I., the police, and the army, if not the House Committee. And in due time the White House itself will again be pronounced safe for occupancy.

But will it ever be really safe? In this atomic age? So gleaming, so strategic a target!

As for me, I live a good twenty-five miles from anything that would interest an enemy. My small white house among the trees is scarcely noticeable from the air. Even if it were, what bombadier would dream of wasting on it even a very small bomb, old-fashioned and pre-atomic?

ROBERT FRANCIS

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Year's End

Beauty at the year's end is all lost,
The silverwork of the delicatest frost
Turns all the sodden leaves spilled on the mud
Into a heatless fire in the flood.

The woods have stillness, now the leaves are shed,
But the unknowing stillness of the dead,
And though the mire is marked by slender feet,
It is the cautious lacework of retreat.

There is no mating, no love-songs are sung,
In all the vast world there is nothing young,
No new eyes catch light in the frost-struck brake,
There is no silken thread of an infant snake.

All life is old or cold, or on tip-toe
Ready to eat the last supper and go,
Bitter and urgent paws work at the ground
Hollowing narrow chambers for the drowned.

On the bough shines the lantern-eyed raccoon,
The silver sliver of a vain new moon
Is caught in the thorny skelton of briar,
No living thing will wax with its waxing fire.

The partridge walks the woods, but walks on wire,
His eye lit by his madness' spreading fire,
Though the eye of the late last woodcock glows,
It is the light going out before the snows.

—*Robert P. Tristram Coffin*

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

YES!

By THOMAS J. BROWN

ON March 21, 1947, a federal loyalty program was instituted by order of President Truman (Executive Order 9835) prescribing procedures for the administration of an "employees'" loyalty program in the executive branch of the government. The order was a partial answer to a hostile Congress determined to find Communists in the Democratic administration. It was also the outgrowth of a very real fear of Communist infiltration into the federal administration.

This first service-wide loyalty check in the federal ranks was actually the development of a more limited loyalty concept expressed in the 1939 Hatch Act. The terms of this Act made membership in any organization advocating the overthrow of the constitutional government of the United States grounds for removal from federal office. Following the enactment of the Hatch Act, the Civil Service Commission in 1940 announced that it would not certify for employment any member of the Communist Party, the German American Bund, or any other Communist or Nazi organization. Appropriation acts after 1940 forbade expenditures for salaries of such persons. The Federal Bureau of Investigation stepped into the picture in 1941, after Congress appropriated $100,000 to investigate federal workers charged with being "members of subversive organizations or to advocate the overthrow of the Federal Government."

The investigations which followed revealed some of the weaknesses of the program. First of all, there was considerable vagueness surrounding the meaning of the word "subversive." In the absence of a congressional definition, Attorney General Biddle included as "subversive organizations" those with Communist backgrounds or affiliations and American Fascist, Nazi, Italian, and Japanese organizations. A differentiation was made between organizations frankly Communist or Nazi, and those which were misleading "front" organizations. Experience proved to the satisfaction of the F.B.I., but not to Congress, that

FORUM: I
Loyalty Pro

the investigation of members of "front" organizations had results "utterly disproportionate to resources expended," and that the "futility and harmful character of a broad personnel inquiry have been too amply demonstrated." It was recommended that future checks be limited to subjects "clearly pertinent to the vital problem of internal security."

Statutory provisions forbidding the employment of "subversive persons" remained on the books and an appropriation of 1942 required a similar investigation. Between July 1, 1942, and June 30, 1945, 6,193 cases were referred to the F.B.I., resulting in 101 dismissals, 75 other administrative actions, and 21 resignations.

The Civil Service Commission was able to refuse to certify applicants on broader grounds, if it found a "reasonable doubt" as to the loyalty of the applicant. Between July, 1940, and March 31, 1947, there were 1,313 civil service rulings of ineligibility where loyalty was a major factor, out of a total of 43,811 ratings. It must be remembered that the Commission had insufficient funds for a complete check and investigated less than 400,000 out of 7,000,000 placements.

Dissatisfaction in Congress with the conducting of the investigations led to the setting up of the President's Temporary Commission of Employee Loyalty in November, 1946. This Commission made a thorough study of previous investigations and concluded that they had been "ineffective in dealing with subversive activities which employ subterfuge, propaganda, infiltration and deception." It acknowledged that there were some subversive and disloyal persons in the employ of the federal government and asserted that "whatever their number, the internal security of the government demands continuous screen-

[*Continued on page* 40]

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

e Federal n Justified?

NO!

By JOHN B. ANDREWS

EXECUTIVE ORDER 9835 instituted the first sweeping loyalty check in the history of our federal service. According to its provisions, federal employees are liable to sweeping investigation by plain-clothes secret police in every aspect of their personal lives. Ever since the enactment of the Hatch Act in 1939, application for federal employment has meant a thoroughgoing and often fantastic invasion of individual privacy. The social position of the applicant's family, his business connections, and his friends' social standing, all have been duly noted by earnest little men with badges and briefcases.

Secret investigation is an ugly business. Persuading friends and neighbors to gossip about applicants or federal employees reminds us of the heyday of Hitlerism. The United States endured a bitter civil conflict and won two world wars without recourse to so undemocratic a tactic.

The Federal Loyalty Program has no conceivable justification in this post-war era. It is undemocratic. It is ineffective and inefficient. It is extremely detrimental to the public service.

The procedures followed by the F.B.I. in investigating federal employees result in the admission of gossip and hearsay as evidence against the accused. This is obviously counter to our standards for a fair trial.

I personally was present when a young investigator copied down the names of all the economic textbooks in a friend's library while she was out of the room. The girl had unfortunately taken a course in economic theory at college and her possession of Karl Marx's *Capital* was enough to bar her from federal employment.

In another instance, I was asked leading questions about the family of an applicant I had never met. The family history of the applicant's brother's wife was discussed at great length (probably because of her foreign-sounding maiden name); these were typical of the questions asked: is the family a "typical *middle class American* family?" "Do the neighbors think well of them?" "Have they ever had any 'trouble' in the neighborhood?" Since this fortunate family kept their children and dogs at home, they were well-liked, although what bearing this had on their relative's job application I fail to see.

The important point, however, is this: the methods followed by the F.B.I. throw their investigations wide open to the most malicious and spiteful gossip, and this gossip subsequently may cost an innocent man his job.

Ignorance also plays its part. On one occasion, a "full field investigation" was instituted because a federal employee was an alleged member of the Fellowship of Faiths Club in one of our outstanding colleges. Anyone familiar with the simple religious motivation of these clubs can appreciate the ignorance with which this charge was brought.

An ignorant charge like this one can start the investigators' ball rolling, and malicious gossip can do the rest.

The unfortunate federal employee is now notified that he may appear at a hearing and bring counsel for his defense. At the hearing, however, he may not see those who testified against him; *at the discretion of the F.B.I., he may not even learn their names!* If he has the time, the money, and the courage, he may stick his job out through the investigation, the hearing, and the long-drawn out appeals. He and his lawyer may try to cut through the maze of red tape and the haze of gossip and innuendo to find out the exact charges and the identity of the accusers. This will be almost impossible. Yet even though the accused has so little chance to defend himself, there have been remarkably few discharges sustained by the Loyalty Review Board, because even the cases pushed to this point are frequently flimsy in evidence. There are actually cases pending

[*Continued on page* 43]

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

[*Continued from page* 38]

ing . . . . of present and prospective employees. The presence . . . . of *any* disloyal . . . . persons . . . . presents a problem of such importance that it must be dealt with vigorously and effectively."

Executive Order 9835 grew out of the recommendations of this temporary commission. It stated that the twofold objective of the loyalty program was to afford "maximum protection . . . . [to] the United States against infiltration of disloyal persons into the ranks of its employees" and to give "equal protection from unfounded accusations . . . . [to] the loyal employees of the Government."

A six-point standard of disloyalty is outlined in the order, with the general provision that "on all the evidence, reasonable grounds exist for belief that the person involved is disloyal to the government of the United States. The six "activities and associations" to be considered are: (1) sabotage and espionage; (2) treason or sedition or advocacy thereof; (3) support of the forceful overthrow of the constitutional government of the United States; (4) disloyal, intentional disclosure of confidential documents; (5) acting to serve the interests of another government in preference to the interests of the United States; (6) "membership in, affiliation with, or sympathetic association with any foreign or domestic organization, association . . . . designated by the Attorney General as totalitarian, fascist, communist, or subversive. . . . ."

After much criticism of point six in the order, the Attorney General finally submitted the list of "subversive" organizations for publication, and the list was published on December 4, 1947. It included 80 groups and 11 schools, and was necessarily incomplete.

The program was begun in August, 1947, with the routine finger-printing of 2 million federal employees. A short questionnaire was designed for identification purposes, and all federal employees were required to fill it in. All names were then sent to the F.B.I. for clearance, and unless "derogatory information" was found in the F.B.I. files, the names were cleared. A "full field investigation" followed only if derogatory information was found.

The results of a field investigation are reviewed within the F.B.I. and then sent to a loyalty board in the appropriate agency, composed of not less than three persons. An adverse finding at this level occasions a letter of charges to the employee, including the factual details of the charges "so far as security determinations will permit." The employee may answer the charges in writing and may call for an administrative hearing, where he may present evidence and be represented by counsel. The hearing is private.

Suspension follows an adverse hearing, but provision is made for appeal to the agency head and, if this appeal is denied, to the central Loyalty Review Board. This central Review Board is made up of 23 private citizens serving without compensation, representative of a broad cross-section of the American public. Similiar procedure may be followed by an applicant for a federal position ruled "ineligible" for security reasons by the Civil Service Commission.

Of the 2 million names sent to the F.B.I., over half had been cleared according to an announcement of March 16, 1948, and 777 full investigations had resulted. Of these, 170 had been completed, with 94 adverse findings resulting.

JUSTIFICATION

The protection given to federal employees under the loyalty program does not extend to employees of the Departments of State and Defense or to the Atomic Energy Commission. These departments have statutory authority to remove summarily any employee "in the interest of national security." Dismissal from these departments as a "security risk" carries with it no right of appeal, although there are indications that in some cases appeal to the Loyalty Board will be allowed.

The Federal Loyalty Program as outlined above is vital to the internal security of the United States today. There are those who still close their eyes to the fundamental conflict between the United States and the Soviet Union, but they are dwindling in number. The Loyalty Program can be defended on four broad grounds: (1) a sovereign state has an inherent and inalienable right of self-defense; (2) Communist infiltration menaces the safety of our sovereign government today; (3) in

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

most cases, fair procedures have been instituted for appealing disloyalty rulings; (4) there is no inherent right of any employee to federal employment.

Every sovereign state must defend itself from its enemies both external and internal. Self-preservation is a "primary and essential right." Any government unwilling or unable to defend itself soon loses its independence altogether. This is no less true of a democracy than of a dictatorship. The preservation of the state, therefore, is paramount to the rights of its individual citizens, who would have no rights at all should the state disintegrate.

The "moral right of revolution," further, cannot be recognized by the constitutional and sovereign state. The right of revolution is diametrically opposed to the preservation of the state and must always be countered by the state if possible.

Thus the exclusion from the country of aliens believing in the forceful overthrow of the United States government is completely justified. So is the exclusion of such persons, citizens or not, from any type of federal employment. Today, as we shall see below, the peculiar type of offensive adopted by the avowed enemies of the United States necessitates even more stringent measures for the preservation of our constitutional government.

The leaders of the Soviet Union have repeatedly and publically declared their enmity to the principles for which this country stands. Although they modify their stand for reasons of expediency from time to time, there can be no doubt that they are working for the establishment of Communist regimes in every country of the world. This would mean the end of the government of the United States as we know it. Communism unquestionably menaces our safety as a democratic, freedom-living people.

Although many Americans have a nodding familiarity with the so-called "Red menace," few of us have a real understanding of its character. Through the Cominform, successor to the Comintern, the leaders of the Soviet Union direct the party line in every country of the world. American Communists are not, and cannot be, exceptions to this rule, for communism allows no exceptions. Communist Party members in the United States, and everywhere else, take their orders in the last analysis from Moscow.

The complications of the problem are twofold. First, it is extremely difficult to detect Communists because they are trained to conceal their identity by fair means or foul. Basic Communist precepts invalidate rules of democratic morality, and no obligation is felt by a Communist to confess his political connection. Unfortunately, this difficulty means that "fellow-travelers" and muddle-headed liberals are often the only frank supporters of Soviet Communist policy. Consequently, they pay high penalties for their mistaken support of an unpatriotic cause. But they do not pay altogether unfairly. This needs strong emphasis. However well-meaning the Soviet-sympathizers may be, their presence in important positions in the federal government represents a potential danger to the United States. Communists must be removed because of their fundamental disloyalty. Fellow-travelers and Left-wing sympathizers must be removed because of their incredible stupidity.

INDIVIDUAL FREEDOM

Second, it is extremely difficult to deal with the disloyal or potentially disloyal because of our high standards of individual freedom. In pure democratic theory, no man should be made to suffer, least of all by the government, for his own opinions. Freedom of opinion has always been one of our most cherished rights. In its effort to ferret out disloyalty, the Loyalty Program frankly and openly limits this freedom. It is, therefore, challenged as unconstitutional and dictatorial, as a harbinger of the very totalitarianism we fear. This is not so. Because of the danger faced by our government, it has the inalienable right of self-preservation. But the provisions and the operations of the Loyalty Act guard individual rights as much as possible.

Very, very few employees of the federal government have ever been subjected to more than a cursory investigation. Of the present employees, over a million have already been "cleared" after fingerprinting and identification without any further questioning. When they realize that the Loyalty Program protects their government and their jobs, they appreciate its purpose.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Of those employees whose records have led to a field investigation, comparatively few have been discharged. This fact has led the ignorant to proclaim the uselessness of the Loyalty Program; it leads the informed to marvel at its discrimination.

Executive Order 9835 prescribes the methods of appeal after field investigation, leaving nothing to the chance prejudices of department or other agency heads. As we have noted above, the defendant may have counsel, he may appear at hearings, he may appeal his case not once but twice.

Because of the rather special nature of loyalty cases, the defendant unfortunately may not have all the appurtenances of a court trial. When the evidence against him has been gathered by the F.B.I. from sources they do not want to disclose for security reasons, then those sources are not disclosed to the defendant. Cross examination is not permitted. These are admitted drawbacks to a fair trial. Yet when the nature of the charges and the danger to the government is considered, they do not appear to be major drawbacks to the program as a whole.

Employees of the Departments of State and Defense are obviously in a weaker position if their loyalty comes under investigation. Because these departments represent "sensitive areas" of the government, where disloyalty would be extremely and perhaps immediately dangerous, summary dismissal is allowed by law. In most cases, it appears that the provisions for review made by Executive Order 9835 will be extended to employees of "sensitive areas." But in some cases, there will be no right of appeal or review.

It is well for us all to remember that no citizen of the United States holds an inherent right to a federal job, although many federal job-holders think they do. An employee of the federal government has a heavy and solemn obligation to that government. His loyalty must be unquestioning and unquestionable. Americans have an inalienable right to their own opinions. They are welcome to question the precepts of this government and every other government. They are free to sympathize with Soviet Russia and, today, to join the Communist Party she sponsors in this country. They may even, under our more than liberal laws, put a foreign country's welfare before that of their own country. BUT, and this is a very important "but,"— they have no right, and they commit a grave moral wrong, when they accept federal employment under conditions such as these.

Out and out Communists—party members—are more completely aware of these truths than any other Americans. No Communist accepts federal employment without complete awareness of his disloyalty. To such persons in the federal employ the government owes less than nothing.

What does it owe to the Left-wing liberals and Communist sympathizers who more frequently are sifted out in the Loyalty Program? To them, we believe, it owes a fair and unprejudiced hearing, and no more than that. This hearing all suspects may have on appeal to the Loyalty Board. It owes them, perhaps, the opportunity of resignation from the federal service before the investigation is publicized. This opportunity they usually get also.

MASS HYSTERIA

And what does the government owe its millions of loyal employees? An explanation of the reason for the Loyalty Program and an assurance that for most of them, fingerprinting and a brief questionnaire will be routine and nothing more. This unfortunately the government has not yet succeeded in getting across to many of its employees. Partly because the Left-wing has stirred up mass hysteria, many government employees are more fearful for their jobs than they need be. According to the Left-wing press, anyone who has ever ridden in a car-pool with a Left-winger, or bought the *Nation* or the *New Republic,* or joined a radical student group, or contributed to a doubtful charity, is in imminent danger of unemployment.

The facts belie these cries of alarm. From personal experience, I feel sure that the number of federal employees who have ever done any of these "dangerous" things is many, many times greater than the number being investigated by the F.B.I. and the Civil Service Commission. Statistics on the number of discharges testify to the fairness of the Program and the level-headedness of the F.B.I.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Naturally, the Program is not perfect. Mistakes, grave mistakes, have been made, and innocent persons have suffered. This is part of the price the American people must pay for the Cold War, for Yalta, Cairo, and Moscow, for their long appeasement of Fascism and Naziism which in turn allowed communism to flourish in Europe. This is part of the price that every federal employee must pay for his employment under present conditions.

And this is no secret. The Loyalty Program is no undercover program. Everyone who remains in or enters federal employment is well aware that he must be willing and able to stand thorough investigation. If his present views, or his past activities, are such that he fears for his federal job, he should resign.

These are harsh words. But we live in a harsh world and struggle against an ideology for which "harsh" is a kind word. The federal government of the United States is entitled to take whatever measures are necessary to secure its continued existence. For—and this is a truth almost always overlooked by the "liberals"—the continued existence of the United States is our only guarantee of the continuing existence of liberal democracy. It may be, in the last analysis, our only guarantee of our own individual existence. Let the "liberals" ask themselves the whereabouts of their brothers in Czechoslovakia, in Austria, in Russian-occupied Germany! Let them face the nature of our enemy, the danger to our country! If they will do this honestly, they will agree with all patriotic and intelligent Americans that the federal loyalty program is justified today.

[*Continued from page* 39]

before the loyalty boards in which an employee is charged with Communist activities in a certain year in a certain city when he can prove that he never set foot in that city in the year in question; where a person is charged with desertion from the Army during World War I at a time when he was nine years old; where a person is charged with association with a dead person.[1]

And this brings up another undemocratic aspect of the loyalty investigations. Point six of the list of standards for disloyalty reads as follows:

"Membership in, affiliation with, or sympathetic association with any foreign or domestic organization . . . . designated by the Attorney General as totalitarian, fascist, communist, or subversive. . . . ."

The attempt to establish *guilt by association,* whether by membership in one of these vaguely defined organizations, or by friendship or acquaintanceship with a "radical," runs counter to a basic tenet of democratic thought: *guilt is personal.*

At the present time, the Attorney General has finally released for publication a list of the organizations covered in point six. The list is admittedly incomplete. No federal employee can breathe freely because he never joined one of these organizations, since other "subversive" groups may be discovered and added to the list at any time. Many, if not most, federal employees now refuse to join any organization, no matter how innocent; their right of free association no longer exists. This is also undemocratic. By the same token, scores of university students now remain aloof from all extra-curricular activities because such activities may jeopardize their chances for federal employment. Many of those who are active in the universities feel that federal careers are now closed to them.

PROCEDURES

Glance again at the "fair" procedures set up by Executive Order 9835. An unfortunate victim may be charged, tried, and convicted all by the same agency! My opponent says, of course, that the federal employee has no job protection in the courts; that he has no guarantee of federal employment. Do not be taken in by specious reasoning! The dismissal of a federal employee on charges of disloyalty will follow him for the rest of his life, shutting him out of almost all types of employment and closing most social doors against him to boot. We are not discussing dismissals for inefficiency; we are speaking of charges akin to treason. Our forefathers recognized the seriousness of such charges when they limited

[1] See Thurman Arnold's article, *Harper's,* November, 1948.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the definition of treason in the Constitution. They were wiser than we. Today, the federal government can dismiss a man under such a charge without any semblance of a fair trial.

In the so-called "sensitive areas" of government service, a federal employee is subject to even harsher rules. Summary dismissal without any explanation is possible in the Departments of State and of Defense and the Atomic Energy Commission. The dismissed employee is labelled a "security risk." When the State Department recently dismissed ten employees without explanation as "security risks," such a furor was raised that the victims were finally allowed to resign. The sorriest part of the case was the fact that the charges against the men were never revealed even to the men themselves. It was rumored that one was too much of a Zionist, that one had "talked" to a well-known columnist. It may be that some or all of these men were poor State Department material, but it is hardly likely that they all merited a branding which would follow them all their lives.

There is a public attitude usually forgotten by those who defend the loyalty program: namely, that those accused of disloyalty are "probably guilty." (This is also the usual attitude of the departments concerned). The attitude springs from a basic misconception of the methods of the F.B.I. The F.B.I. field investigator actually forms no conclusions about the subject of his investigation. He does not attempt to evaluate the gossip, rumor, and more pertinent information that comes his way. He is *not* a super G-Man, with strange and secret devices for testing loyalty. Actually, he merely copies down what you and I and our neighbors say about each subject for investigation and on the basis of his report, charges may be drawn. However unfair the public attitude may be, only a long educational process will alter it. And meanwhile federal employees continue to suffer unfairly.

On June 30, 1948, the F.B.I. reported the completed investigation of two million federal employees. Of these, 438 resigned during the inquiry; 5,510 cases brought up loyalty questions; 98 quit after full field reports were collected. *The rest were immediately cleared.* The loyalty boards actually heard only 2,632 cases—one eighth of one per cent of all employees! Up to July 1, 54 adverse decisions had been reported and four of these were reversed by agency heads. The Loyalty Review Board actually heard only 16 appeals, and sustained only four. These figures do not include summary dismissals in the Departments of State, Defense, and on the Atomic Energy Commission. In the Army civilian services, an estimated 2,000 discharges have occurred, some with hearings and some without.

PROGRAM UNNECESSARY

On the basis of these statistics, we may presume that the loyalty program is actually unnecessary. No evidence has been uncovered of widespread disloyalty. The cost of investigating is out of all proportion to the results achieved. The F.B.I. itself has been extremely reluctant to undertake the investigations after early attempts revealed the futility of these complete check-ups.

Numerous examples can be cited of the inefficiency of the program, of the uncovering of evidence proved afterwards to be absolutely worthless. To spend thousands and thousands of dollars of the taxpayers' money writing down every bit of gossip about every federal employee seems nothing short of ridiculous.

Instead of tracking down the disloyal, the program serves to frighten the loyal. The figures cited above prove that many more employees resigned during the inquiry than were dismissed. Some of these, of course, may have been guilty; many more were frightened, without real cause. When an investigation uncovers so pitifully few disloyal, and forces the resignation of so many more probably loyal, it is obviously ineffectual. If there are so few disloyal (and the word covers many abuses), then no such sweeping program is necessary. If there are many more than were found, then the program is inefficient. No justification for it can be found on its statistical results.

To sum up our conclusions thus far: the loyalty program is admittedly undemocratic; it has worked grave injustices; it is either unnecessary or gravely inefficient (or both). Last but not least, it is clearly detrimental to the public service on which our future as a democratic government may well depend. Public service in the United States has never been

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

attractive to most men of high calibre. The pay is relatively low; the return in prestige is meager; advancement is slow, and brilliant effort is usually unrewarded. Added to these disadvantages, we now have the factor of extreme uncertainty, ruling out one of the few advantages of federal service—security. If malicious gossip or deliberate slander can occasion the abrupt termination of a government career, why enter the government service? Few intelligent men and women choose to work with a sword hanging over their heads. Not only may they lose their federal jobs, they may lose them in such a glare of publicity that their future careers are ruined.

What does this mean for the Civil Service in concrete terms? It means that more and more outstanding men (and this includes our top-flight young scientists), have turned their backs on federal service. Progressive Americans *with ideas* and *with initiative* are afraid to enter or to remain in the public service. It means that colorless, mediocre persons who never express their opinions, and only such persons, are attracted to Washington these days. A federal service based on fearful mediocrity—that will hardly strengthen the government of the United States.

PREMISES

Those who uphold the federal loyalty program proceed on two false premises. They believe, first of all, that the United States is actually at war with the Soviet Union today. The loyalty program is thus justified as a war-time expedient. But we are *not* at war with Russia! The war does not begin until the shooting starts! There is no evidence that either Russia or the United States is anxious to begin hostilities; there is much evidence that both sides are anxious to avoid war. Terms such as "the cold war" are dangerously misleading and can actually hasten the dreaded day. It is vital for us all to remember that we are at peace with Russia and that in all likelihood our very survival depends on the maintenance of that peace.

Secondly, those who support the loyalty program believe that federal loyalty investigation will ferret out the Communists in our federal employ. This is patently naïve. There can be no doubt that Communist Party members, with their admitted connections with a foreign power, have no business in our federal government. There is no arguing with the premise that they are dangerous and should be removed when possible. But to suppose that these dangerous agents discuss Karl Marx with their neighbors and display *Capital* on their bookshelves is nothing short of ridiculous! As my opponent admits, few of these men are being discovered in the Federal Loyalty Program. Their tracks are well covered. The program turns up the well-meaning liberals, the foolish Left-wingers, who believe in free speech and speak freely. As a counter-espionage program, it is an out-and-out flop.

Visitors from England have expressed amazement at the Red hysteria demonstrated in Washington. Not only the Loyalty Program, but the Congressional investigations, have revealed the same foolish phenomenon. The people of the United States are being hoodwinked into a program fit for dictatorship because of their very real fear of communism and of the Soviet Union. Even highly-trained political scientists and lawyers have abandoned their constitutionalism in the face of the "danger."

There can be no doubt that between Russia and the United States today a dangerous gulf has opened. There is no denying the fact that American Communists are potential if not actual Soviet agents and that such persons are a danger to our federal service.

These sad truths, however, are no excuse for the abandonment of all our democratic principles, for the institution of secret police methods and terrorism, for the demoralization of our government service. The Federal Bureau of Investigation has already spoken out against the very sort of investigations now under way. No informed official believes that the Loyalty Program will catch the Communists. The most that can be said for it is that it is a sop to red-baiters everywhere. This is a poor justification for a program that mocks democracy and ruins the morale of millions of loyal workers. The federal loyalty program is a farce and should be discontinued.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CONGRESS DEBATES:

The Vandenberg Resolution

THE groundwork was laid for American participation in a Western European alliance last spring when the Senate, 64 to 4, adopted the Vandenberg Resolution. This resolution, among other things, stated that:

> *Resolved,* That the Senate reaffirm the policy of the United States to achieve international peace and security through the United Nations so that armed force shall not be used except in the common interest, and that the President be advised of the sense of the Senate that this Government, by constitutional process, should particularly pursue the following objectives within the United Nations Charter: . . . .
>
> (2) Progressive development of regional and other collective arrangements for individual and collective self-defense in accordance with the purposes, principles, and provisions of the Charter.
>
> (3) Association of the United States, by constitutional process, with such regional and other collective arrangements as are based on continuous and effective self-help and mutual aid, and as affect its national security.
>
> (4) Contributing to the maintenance of peace by making clear its determination to exercise the right of individual or collective self-defense under article 51 should any armed attack occur affecting its national security. . . . .

Since that time Western Europe has formed a military alliance. And it is clear that President Truman will present to the Eighty-first Congress a proposal that this country support the new organization. The debate, therefore, on the Vandenberg Resolution seems particularly timely, since many of the arguments heard last June will arise in 1949. Many Senators objected to the proposal as a device to circumvent and weaken the United Nations, in spite of arguments that such regional organizations are permissible under Section 51 of the United Nations Charter. Supporters of the resolution held that a precedent had already been set by our participation in the Pan-American Defense Pact. Other legislators argued that the resolution was unconstitutional, since it usurped the foreign policy powers of the Executive Department. Still others maintained that the resolution, and subsequent treaties made thereunder, would weaken Congress's power to declare war.

The main objections, however, came from those who felt that by passing the resolution the Senate was morally committing itself to accept any treaty which might grow out of it. Senator Vandenberg and administration supporters hotly denied this contention, maintaining that the Senate was relinquishing none of its authority to reject or accept subsequent treaties. Now that the resolution has passed and a Western European alliance has been formed, how true this argument is will be seen when the debate begins on American participation in the new regional association.[1]

* * *

Mr. VANDENBERG, Republican, Michigan. We are embarking upon tremendous efforts to help others to help themselves into economic convalescence which follows independent strength and whatever makes for healthy peace for all nations, America included.

Pending this blessed outcome, it is inevitable

1 The *Congressional Record, Senate,* Vol. 94, No. 106, pp. 7970-8026.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

that related questions of physical security should arise. This results and has resulted in immediate speculation abroad and at home regarding our American role in this collective-security base. The pending resolution is the responsible answer, so far as Congress can presently foresee. It declines automatically military alliances. It declines all peace-time renewals of the old, open-handed lend-lease formula. It declines unilateral responsibility for the fate of western Europe. It is none of those things; it is the exact opposite.

On the other hand, it is a plan for our practical American cooperation under specified circumstances, within the framework of the United Nations. It is an answer which encourages individual and collective self-defense against armed aggression within the Charter and outside the veto. It asserts our interest in regional arrangements, specifically invited by the Charter, as a means to renew its effectiveness for peace. It declares our willingness to consider by due constitutional process our own cooperation, in one way or another, with such regional arrangements, if and when we conclude that our own national interests are involved. But it warns that self-help and mutual aid are prerequisites. Our cooperation must be a supplement and not a substitute for the adequate and continuous defensive activities of others. It is a paraphrase of the Rio Treaty which the Senate overwhelmingly approved. It is a plan to make the Charter work in behalf of individual and collective self-defense against armed aggression. It is a potential power for peace. It is another forward move in the indispensable pattern of collective security for us and for others. It never steps outside the United Nations Charter. It never steps outside the Constitution of the United States. It never steps outside the final authority of the Congress. But it steps constructively and hopefully toward a better and a safer world.

I agree with those who say it is an important and significant step, but let us make no mistake about the underlying facts. This is not the recital of an acceptance of new obligations, if we meant what we said when we assumed our underlying obligations under the United Nations. This resolution merely spells out an orderly and consistent procedure to implement them. It puts them into a plan. It gives them reciprocal vitality. We cannot escape these same general obligations by declining the resolution. But when we make them more realistic and make our interest more specific, it is less likely that an aggressor will take the chance and pay the price of ignoring them. . . . .

Mr. BREWSTER, Republican, Maine. This resolution represents practically the opinion of the Senate regarding further progress in the formulation of our foreign policy. Is that a correct statement?

Mr. VANDENBERG. I would say it is an effort to implement our existing foreign policy in respect of the United Nations.

COOPERATION

Mr. BREWSTER. I am interested in it from the standpoint of what I think is a very commendable course of the Senate in cooperating with the Executive in seeking to unify our approach in foreign policies. I think we have made considerable progress in that direction in recent years. It started under the chairmanship of the Senator from Texas [Mr. CONNALLY] when we began evolving the United Nations, and continued under the present distinguished chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee. I would be interested in the view of the Senator from Michigan as to how far we might anticipate going in time to come in the formulation of expressions of opinion, realizing the primary responsibility of the President in the conduct of foreign relations, and yet recognizing, also, the consultative responsibilities of the Senate. I think it is one of the most hopeful auguries in our foreign relations.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Does the Senator ask me to turn aside from the resolution to discuss the general subject of Executive relations with the Senate in respect to the development of foreign policy?

Mr. BREWSTER. No. I recognize that that is entirely too broad a field. But it has been occasionally suggested, when we have been discussing questions of foreign policy, that we were entering a forbidden realm. This resolution obviously establishes an additional indication that the Senate is concerned in not merely passing on treaties and the appointment of ambassadors, but in expressing

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

opinions and the sense of the Senate regarding the evolution of our foreign policy. I do not know how many instances there are. Has the Senator from Michigan given any attention to the matter of how frequently a thing of this precise character has happened in the past?

Mr. VANDENBERG. It has not happened frequently, but it has happened a number of times.

Mr. BREWSTER. It is a responsibility which must be exercised, obviously.

Mr. VANDENBERG. I quite agree with the Senator. . . . .

I think the Senate is entitled, at any time it pleases, to use the advice clause of the Constitution to tell the Executive what it thinks concerning foreign affairs. But I think it would be a tragic and unfortunate thing if the habit ever became general or too contagious, because, I respectfully submit to the Senator, only in those instances in which the Senate can be sure of a complete command of all the essential information prerequisite to an intelligent decision, should it take the terrific chance of muddying the international waters by some sort of a premature and ill-advised expression of its advice to the Executive. . . . .

The Constitution places in the President the primary responsibility for the conduct of foreign relations. He exercises that authority through his Secretary of State. When and where it is possible, in clearly channeled and clearly identified projects, for the legislature, the Executive, and the two major parties to proceed from the beginning to the end of a specific adventure, so that all are consulted in respect to all phases of the undertaking, I think it is a tremendously useful thing, and I believe it has been demonstrated as being useful, particularly in connection with the development of the United Nations, which is the spectacular example of those contacts. But to think that that can be done as an everyday practice in regard to all of the multiple problems of international import which now descend upon the State Department every day, in my opinion is totally out of the question. I think we must anticipate that this sort of cooperation can occur only within very fundamental and often narrowly channeled enterprises. As someone put it one day, I thought, rather effectively, we want to be in on the take-off as well as in on the crash-landing. If we cannot be in on the take-off, we would just as soon not be present at the crash-landing.

Mr. BREWSTER. There is a middle ground between the position of 96 members of the Senate consulting regarding fields of foreign policy, which obviously is fantastic, and that which has evolved in the past 5 years under the leadership of Secretary Hull, who took an attitude toward the Senate and its deliberations which I think marked a great milepost in our progress in the evolution of foreign policy. The whole-hearted cooperation of the Senator from Texas [Mr. CONNALLY], then chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, with the small group of, I believe, eight Senators, on a thoroughly bipartisan basis, the collaboration of that group, and the subsequent collaboration of the Senator from Michigan, who succeeded to the chairmanship of the committe, unquestionably, in my mind, led to the nearly unanimous approval of the United Nations Charter. The vote stands out in a century of history. . . . .

The pending resolution received almost unanimous approval in the committee. So I should like to emphasize at this time that that middle ground of consultation with the 8, 10, or 15 members of the Committee on Foreign Relations has been an extremely happy development. . . . .

TREATY POWERS

Mr. WHERRY, Republican, Nebraska. As I understood the Senator's observations regarding the general provisions, the Senate could adopt the pending resolution and not go outside the constitutional processes, which, of course, we should maintain. Is that correct?

Mr. VANDENBERG. The Senator is completely correct.

Mr. WHERRY. Does the Senator feel that the resolution is not the subject matter for a treaty?

Mr. VANDENBERG. It is not at all.

Mr. WHERRY. Therefore we are not in any way voting on a measure to be ratified by a majority vote, which should require a two-thirds vote because of the subject matter involved?

Mr. VANDENBERG. No. Let me say

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

specifically to the Senator that the subject matter involves existing obligations under the Charter, and is simply an effort, after a long and careful study not only by the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, but by the experts of the State Department in the particular field of action, to point out how our existing obligations under the Charter, which are not extended by one-millionth of an inch, can be underscored in certain directions to the advantage of a hopeful result.

Mr. WHERRY. One more question. In agreeing to the resolution do we make a moral commitment, the implementation of which might involve an alliance which should require a two-thirds vote of the Senate?

Mr. VANDENBERG. The Senator from Michigan will point out, as soon as he reaches the other sections of the resolution, that if any sort of a subsequent obligation is even proposed as result of evolution, it will be subject to the approval of Congress by constitutional process. . . . .

Mr. President, it is the belief of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations and the State Department—and in this instance I can speak for both—that one of the ways by which the Charter can be made infinitely more effective, without the necessity of any amendment, is to put this new emphasis on regional arrangements. The Senate will remember that the United Nations Charter itself categorically recognizes the importance of regional arrangements as a contribution to the effectiveness of the Charter in preventing aggression and in controlling international security and peace.

The regional arrangements are covered in chapter 8, article 52. I would point out in this connection and would have the Senate bear it in mind, that a regional arrangement under chapter 8 can take no enforcement action under chapter 8, and I quote from article 53—

> without the authorization of the Security Council.

There is one exception in connection with measures against a former enemy state, but that is inconsequential for the purposes of this discussion.

The regional organization as such can take no enforcement action under chapter 8 without the approval of the Security Council. Therefore there is no release from the jurisdiction of the Security Council in respect to enforcement when a regional arrangement has been entered into.

The important thing to remember in this parallel connection is that article 51, which is the other article involved in these three sections of the pending resolution, reads as follows:

> Nothing in the present Charter shall impair the inherent right of individual or collective self-defense if an armed attack occurs against a Member of the United Nations, until the Security Council has taken the measures necessary to maintain international peace and security.

COLLECTIVE SELF-DEFENSE

In other words, where there is an armed attack against a member nation of the United Nations, the nation attacked preserves all its inherent rights of self-defense regardless of any of the Charter obligations to await collective security. The nation thus attacked not only preserves this right of individual self-defense at that point but the right of collective self-defense at that point is also recognized, and it is outside the veto, because it has the authority to meet a sudden critical situation which could not possibly await any sort of consolidation or any sort of planned defense. I continue to read from article 51:

> Measures taken by members in the exercise of this right of self-defense shall be immediately reported to the Security Council and shall not in any way affect the authority and responsibility of the Security Council under the present Charter to take at any time such action as it deems necessary in order to maintain or restore international peace and security.

The point is that this right of summary self-defense, individual and collective, resides in each member nation not only at the moment of attack but "until the Security Council has taken the measures necessary to maintain international peace and security."

Therefore there is an area of action at that point which is strictly within the definitions of the United Nations Charter but outside the veto, because it is outside the authority of the Security Council. The theory of developing

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the regional arrangement idea to a greater degree very clearly contemplates the fact that, if regional arrangements perfect the means for collective security, their exercise and use under article 51, pending the time when the Security Council shall take "measures necessary to maintain international peace and security"— the creation of an integrated defense for use upon that unhappy day when the power and authority of article 51 would be exercised—is a very definite and specific step forward, strictly within the limitations of the Charter, a step forward toward a more effective integration of the peace-loving nations of the earth toward peace and security.

Mr. MILLIKIN, Republican, Colorado. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. VANDENBERG. I yield.

Mr. MILLIKIN. I think it is very clear that an individual nation when attacked can, under the United Nations Charter, take immediate and summary measures to protect itself. I should like to suggest that there be a documentation of the theory that, more than that and beyond that, an individual nation so attacked can summon to its assistance other nations in a regional or other association of nations to set up a resistance to the aggressor.

PAN-AMERICAN TREATY

Mr. VANDENBERG. The Senator is asking me to illustrate what it is I am talking about. I think the best possible illustration by way of a model, with certain reservations, is the Pan-American Regional Pact which was not only written but was ratified by the Senate by a vote which was very nearly unanimous. I think within the Pan-American example the Senator has an answer to his question.

Mr. MILLIKIN. Mr. President, will the Senator again yield?

Mr. VANDENBERG. With pleasure.

Mr. MILLIKIN. I remind the Senator that at one time the whole world, except one man, thought the world was flat.

Mr. VANDENBERG. The Senator is quite correct, and I hope the RECORD will be read as indicating that the Senator has now identified the one vote against the Pan-American Treaty. The Senator from Michigan still wonders sometimes whether at least parts of the world are not still pretty flat.

Now, when we contemplate the Pan-American Treaty as an example of the thing we are talking about, I think we see a pretty precise picture of the possibilities involved. Under the Pan-American Treaty which has been ratified by the Senate, what happens in case of an armed attack, let us say, against—

Mr. MILLIKIN. Country X.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Country X in South America? The first thing that happens is that the authority in article 51 of the United Nations Charter is immediately invoked, that being the article of the Charter which recognizes the right of summary individual and collective self-defense. That means the country X immediately resists the aggression. It means that the United States as a member of this regional fraternity resists the aggression if it thinks that it is involved in a fashion which requires immediate cooperation. It is the sole judge of its own action at that moment. The only compulsory obligation is an obligation immediately to consult regarding what shall be done respecting collective security. In that consultation in respect to collective security the regional organization cannot—using the United States as an example—order us into collective defense action in behalf of country X. But the consultative group has met under a general overriding pledge of united interest for the purpose of determining in what manner collective security shall be pursued. There is no point in the exercise of the authority under the Pan-American example I am giving which requires the Government of the United States to engage in armed activities of any nature without our approval. I wish to reiterate in this connection that it will be noted—and I call my current comment particularly to the attention of the Senator from Nebraska—that nothing can happen which does not happen under our constitutional processes.

Mr. WHERRY. Mr. President, may I ask the Senator a question?

Mr. VANDENBERG. I yield.

Mr. WHERRY. Will the other country—country X—know, and will the people of that country know, when we adopt the resolution and we are called upon to act, that the demand for armed services, and whatever policy is to be adopted, must come back to the Congress of the United States to go through the

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

constitutional processes? Is there any moral commitment made in the resolution upon which the people of that country will rely, and with respect to which they will be disappointed if in complying with the constitutional requirements we nullify the position taken here? Perhaps they are not acquainted with our constitutional processes. That is what bothers me.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Let me say to the Senator that probably by now they are not only acquainted with our constitutional processes, but are usually very unhappy about them.

Mr. WHERRY. Does the Senator believe that in the future they will become better acquainted with them?

Mr. VANDENBERG. I am afraid they will. Whether it be for better or for worse, our constitutional processes are valid, indispensable, very precious, and are to be preserved.

Mr. WHERRY. I think the Senator sees the point I am making.

Mr. VANDENBERG. I do, entirely.

Mr. WHERRY. I am open-minded. I do not want to back up on a moral commitment. If we are to approve this resolution, I do not want some other country to say, "This particular Senator voted to approve, and now he has backed up on his moral commitment because he has hidden behind the constitutional processes and has not indicated a desire to carry out the provisions of the resolution."

Mr. VANDENBERG. I hope there will be no misunderstanding about the nature of the resultant obligation. I do not think the situation remains entirely as it was before we acted. I think we have emphasized our very deep interest in exploring any regional arrangements which may be made, from the standpoint of our own national security. I think that carries with it the implication that if we find it to be to the advantage of our national security, we shall be very definitely sympathetic with the objective. At that point we shall assess the situation from the standpoint of our own national security and make our decision accordingly.

Mr. WHERRY. In reality, to state it in layman's language, it is only extending the Monroe Doctrine to certain regions in Europe. Is that correct?

Mr. VANDENBERG. It is giving them one of their own. That is a pretty loose statement.

Mr. WHERRY. It is all pretty loose.

Mr. MILLIKIN. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. VANDENBERG. I yield.

Mr. MILLIKIN. I should like to narrow my question by asking the Senator to point to the provision of the Charter which would permit a regional group to go to the defense of a nation within the group which becomes the victim of aggression.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Article 51. . . . .

HISTORIC PARALLELS

Mr. PEPPER, Democrat, Florida. What troubles me is that in the committee's resolution we are asked to promote these regional arrangements. Such an able writer as Mr. Hamilton Fish Armstrong goes so far as to suggest, if I read his writings correctly, that the original arrangement under the Rio agreement would be a pattern for a similar enterprise in other parts of the world.

I cannot dissociate that kind of regional arrangement from the Triple Alliance or the Triple Entente or similar agreements in the past, which have led states to cooperative action in case of considered danger.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Let me interrupt the Senator at this point simply to say that before he draws historic parallels of that character, I think he must distinctly recognize the sharp difference between a regional arrangement which is sovereign within itself and a regional arrangement which is subject to the jurisdiction of the sovereignty of a united world organization. I am sure there is a great difference between those two situations.

Mr. PEPPER. Yes; but the Senator will also recall that by means of the preserved right of the veto, we have immunity, for all practical purposes, from interference by the Security Council. The Council could not interfere with the discharge of our believed duty in this hemisphere because by means of the veto we could prevent such action against us. So, under the whole verbiage and scheme and pattern of the United Nations Organization, we would be relatively supreme in carrying out the Monroe Doctrine in this hemisphere. Does not the Senator from Michigan agree?

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Mr. VANDENBERG. I think so, but I fail to see how that negates in any way the statement I made.

Mr. PEPPER. Only to the extent that because of the supervisory veto power, such attempts by the Security Council would practically mean nothing, since we could prevent their operation at all.

Mr. VANDENBERG. I am unable to be persuaded by the Senator that there is any remote parallel between one of the old, historic military-alliance arrangements of the yesterdays and a regional arrangement of the sort I have been discussing. I am unable to be persuaded that there is any legitimate parallel between that concept and the concept today of a regional arrangement which lives completely and scrupulously within the letter of every protection of the Charter of the United Nations, which embraces the entire globe. I merely insist to the Senator that the two concepts are not analogous.

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. President, that is a subject for debate, and undoubtedly not one for prolonged questioning here.

Mr. VANDENBERG. I am afraid, the moment the Senator addresses himself to it, because he can almost make me think black is white, usually, when he turns on his irresistible eloquence.

Mr. PEPPER. When I hear the Senator from Michigan, that is when I am most troubled with respect to a difference of opinion, I am fearful I may be wrong. . . . .

CONSTITUTIONALITY

Mr. MALONE, Republican, Nevada. The real question confronting the Senate is not whether or not the proposed resolutions violate the United Nations Charter, but the real question is—do the resolutions violate the established principles of the United States Senate and its constitutional relationship with the executive branch of the Government.

Is it the Senator's idea in presenting the resolution that he wishes to encourage the President and the State Department to go further in making such treaties as he indicates are necessary, than they normally would go, under the normal independent operations of our government departments?

Mr. VANDENBERG. I think the purpose is to encourage the use of regional arrangements for whatever advantage can be found in them, not only for the sake of international peace and security, but also for the sake of our own national security, wherever it can be developed through this instrumentality.

Mr. MALONE. Is it the Senator's idea that individual Senators shall commit themselves to this type of treaty without any understanding whatever of the details which may be included in such a treaty?

Mr. VANDENBERG. Not the slightest. On the contrary, the statement is categorically made, not only in the text of the resolution, but in the committee report, and in every word that I have uttered during the past several hours, that there is no commitment which is not completely subordinate—if there be any sort of commitment at all—to the utterly independent judgment of the Senate when the constitutional process is subsequently invoked. . . . .

Mr. MALONE. I should like to ask one further question. I have listened very carefully to the able Senator from Michigan for the past two hours. While I have heard him assure Senators that the resolution was not a violation of the United Nations Charter, at the same time I have heard very little discussion as to whether or not it is a violation of the principles laid down in the Constitution of the United States, under which the Senate is charged with checking independently any action, through treaties, of the President of the United States and the State Department. We are not supposed—at least, until now, we have not been supposed—to be a party to a treaty until all the evidence is known to members of the Senate, and after committee approval, full discussion and a two-thirds affirmative vote is had. . . . .

Mr. LODGE, Republican, Massachusetts. Mr. President, will the Senator from Michigan yield to me to respond to the Senator from Nevada?

Mr. VANDENBERG. I yield.

Mr. LODGE. It so happens that I was one of the Senators in the committee who brought out the very point to which the Senator from Nevada refers. The committee inserted language in the resolution to meet that very point. In line 6, on page 1, the language "by

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

constitutional process" was inserted; and on page 2, lines 5 and 6, the words "by constitutional process" were inserted. That language is inserted because it is the surest, most effective, and most nearly indisputable manner of making it absolutely certain, beyond any possibility of doubt, that any kind of arrangement to which the Senator from Nevada refers will come back to the Senate for ratification. I can completely set the Senator's mind at rest on that point.

Mr. MALONE. Mr. President, if the Senator from Michigan will yield while I discuss the question further with the Senator from Massachusetts, I ask the Senator from Massachusetts what, then, is the purpose of the resolution?

Mr. LODGE. I think the purpose of the resolution is to show that we are in sympathy with the broad trend of strengthening the freedom-loving countries; but it does not commit us to anything definite. They must make the showing. If they make a good showing, and if it is advantageous to our national security to help them, we shall help them. If the showing is not good enough, we shall not help them. It is the most perfect arrangement, from the standpoint of American interest, that could possibly be imagined.

Mr. MALONE. Of course, I defer to the wishes of the Senator from Massachusetts to participate in the debate, but are we not already on record through the United Nations and other actions of the United States Senate making our position clear?

Mr. LODGE. I wanted to participate at this point, because this happens to be something in which I was very much interested when the subject was before the committee.

Mr. MALONE. I yield to that impulse. . . . .

These recommendations are paragraphs (2), (3), and (4) in the resolution presented by the distinguished Senator from Michigan.

Their purpose is to place the Senate on record as advising the President to negotiate regional security agreements under the United Nations Charter. Each regional security agreement, when negotiated by the President, must be ratified subsequently by the Senate. But by advising the President to go ahead the Senate in effect guarantees that a future Senate will ratify such treaties. . . . .

Mr. VANDENBERG. Repeatedly I have insisted that we must be perfectly sure that when we exercise the advice function in respect to the advice to the President on this subject, we are not yielding any of our subsequent consent prerogative. So far as the Senator from Michigan is concerned, he completely disagrees with any assertion that the exercise of the advice functions is a surrender of the consent function. I know that that is precisely the position which the able Senator from Nevada wishes to maintain. I agree with him 100 per cent as to what is the correct interpretation of the situation which we confront when we give advice. I would not want him to withdraw from his own conclusion by asserting that we had surrendered any such right.

Mr. MALONE. I am very glad to have the opinion of the Senator from Michigan. I have listened very carefully to the Senator from Michigan, and all his proposed policies for the past several months, and I understand his position perfectly well.

MORAL COMMITMENTS

I am not contending that such a treaty made subsequent to the passage of the resolutions would not have to be ratified by this body, but I also believe that there is through these resolutions an implied approval of any such treaty which may be made, and that this action could well be the first step in relinquishing the policy which has long been established through the Constitution of the United States. This is the first step, just as we took the first step in violation of the Constitution by appropriating money for foreign nations for any purpose over a long period of years, through small appropriations in the beginning. Finally we reached the point where the appropriations for foreign nations closely approached, and even surpassed, what ordinarily would constitute an entire year's appropriations for the expenses of this government. It required some time to establish this precedent, but it was finally established, and is not now questioned.

In my humble opinion this is the first step toward breaking down the independence of the Senate of the executive department, and the constitutional provision that the Senate review any such treaty before final approval.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Mr. HAWKES, Republican, New Jersey. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. MALONE. I am happy to yield.

Mr. HAWKES. I think I understand perfectly what the Senator from Nevada has in mind. He is not saying that after we give our advice, we must give our consent; but he is saying that if we advise about a matter, then if that matter is carried out substantially in accordance with our advice, we shall have practically bound ourselves morally to give our consent. I understand that is what the Senator has in mind.

Mr. MALONE. The distinguished Senator from New Jersey has expressed perfectly my feelings in the matter.

Mr. HAWKES. I should like to say, if the Senator will further yield, that one thing which has been difficult for me to understand is that repeatedly on the floor of the Senate Senators have argued that we cannot do what we would like to do in a certain matter because we have done something one or two years before which binds us in our action now. I think the Senator from Nevada wishes to be sure that when we give our advice, we shall be willing to go through with the matter and give our consent later on, rather than run the risk of being accused by any nation of a breach of good faith if we do not later give our consent. . . . .

Mr. MALONE. If the Senate in effect directs the President and State Department to make such treaties, indicating the nature of such agreements, they will have a perfect right to say to the Senate later, "You directed us to do this, and now we expect you to ratify this treaty." Then tons of propaganda will go out over the country; and the first thing we know, our votes will be in the pocket, or else our votes will be minority votes and we have lost our opportunity. . . . .

Mr. BALDWIN, Republican, Connecticut. Does not the point the Senator from Nevada has raised go to the very basis of this entire matter? I understand that the Senator has raised the point that if we take the initial step now proposed, we shall ultimately be bound to take others. Is that the point?

Mr. MALONE. Yes. We shall be taking this step without having any idea whatever of what is in the mind of the President or the State Department as to the kind of treaty that will be presented to us later, but in effect we are directing them to make it without such knowledge.

Mr. BALDWIN. Then the only alternative the Senator has to offer is that we do nothing. Is that correct?

Mr. MALONE. We have already indicated our position through ratifying the United Nations Charter in the regular way. The alternative I would offer is that we follow the Constitution of the United States and not commit ourselves in advance. I am not a part of the State Department, and I do not believe the distinguished Senator from Connecticut is a part of it. Certainly we are not the President of the United States. The Constitution of the United States provides that the President shall make the treaties and shall send them to this body for ratification. At that time when the Senate considers the proposed treaties, prior to ratifying them, all the evidence is supposed to be available to the Senate. It is not available now.

Mr. BALDWIN. Where does the Senator find in the resolution anything which says that any treaty made under this resolution by the State Department or the President is not to be ratified by the Senate?

MATTER OF FORM

Mr. MALONE. The entire requirement that we must later ratify it in the regular manner is lost in a maze of verbiage indicating that we are urging such treaties—and therefore the final ratification will be a mere matter of form.

Mr. BALDWIN. Then obviously the Constitution will prevail, and the arrangements now being considered by us would be subject to the constitutional requirements.

Mr. MALONE. I think the Senator is entirely correct. The Senator from Connecticut has been a member of the Senate for about the same time that I have; he and I are both yearlings. Of course, I defer to the long experience of the distinguished Senator from Michigan, and I listen with very great attention to everything he has to say. But still I say to the distinguished Senator from Connecticut that there is nothing in the Constitution which even implies or in any way would lead me to believe that we are a part of the State Department or the executive branch of the govern-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ment, and that we must, in advance, give them permission to make or, in fact, direct them to make, any kind of treaty whatever. . . . .

Mr. BALDWIN. It seems to me this proposal envisages no more than we already have done, except it indicates our willingness to go forward along the path of settling our difficulties by the process of agreement in treaties; and then we go further in the resolution and say that if the United States becomes a party to such an arrangement, it must be on the basis of observance of our constitutional processes.

I submit to the Senator that is the time-honored way by which we have always proceeded in such matters. . . . .

Mr. MALONE. I may say again to the able Senator from Connecticut, it seems to me we are taking a lot of authority upon the United States Senate, in a sort of mischievous way, going beyond our prerogatives in trying to direct the President of the United States and the State Department, which is an entirely different, independent part of the government, and deliberately so. We seem to be trying to influence the executive department. It could be perhaps that some personnel are in the wrong jobs; possibly they should be in the State Department, or in the office of the President of the United States.

With respect to the treaties we are contemplating that the State Department and the President of the United States may make under their prerogatives will in fact be military pacts, no matter how ingenious may be the excuse or the explanation.

For the first time in history, the Senate is asked to propose that the United States enter into solemn treaties to go to war to defend foreign nations against invasions or any other act of war that the ally may term aggression.

The United Nations Charter itself calls for this action. The Charter proposes that in any regional security agreements all the parties to the agreement must go to war to defend any one of the group when it is attacked by an aggressor. Needless to say, the aggressor will always be the fellow who goes to war against one of our friends regardless of the fact as to who started the war.

The main purpose of this resolution, it seems to me, is to give the green light for a mutual military aid pact with Britain, France, Belgium, Holland, and Luxembourg. Once negotiated by the President, this military pact will be submitted to the Senate for ratification. Once ratified, the United States is compelled to go to war if any other nation attacks any one of these five.

I want to say again for the benefit of the Senator from Connecticut, in further clarification of my belief, that once we make this solemn declaration on the floor of the Senate and adopt the resolutions, then when a treaty comes to the floor of the Senate and there is any serious discussion as to whether or not we will ratify the treaty, a flood of propaganda will go out from the executive department and from all the bureaus of the government, just as it has on everything that has confronted the Senate heretofore; and the nation will be immediately convinced of the necessity of the treaty, whether it is a fact or not. No one will ever read the resolutions, and the propaganda will convince the people that we have in advance invited the State Department and the President to enter into the treaties which they are asking the Senate to approve.

IMPROPER CONSIDERATION

Our founding fathers warned us many years ago against entering into entangling alliances, and certainly any proposed alliance should be thoroughly considered. Now, however, we are to be slid into one without ever having the issue properly debated before the country and without giving the American people any opportunity to voice their convictions on this grave issue.

It is my opinion, Mr. President, that we have moved far through the United Nations, but we must still keep an independent attitude in the Senate of the United States to discuss all of the evidence when any treaty is offered, and independently ratify it or turn it down. When once ratified, of course, we are ready to accept our obligation.

It is the back-door approach or the cellar-window entry into an entangling alliance without proper consideration. It is done with sugar-coating, with candied icing on it. We are told it is done in solemn keeping with the provisions of the United Nations Charter which the Senate has already ratified.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

At the time this part of the Charter was adopted, it was generally believed—and there was no other explanation ever given—that regional agreements would apply only to nations in close proximity one to another, or to nations in the same hemisphere. The only one ever mentioned at San Francisco in which the United States would participate was the Chapultepec agreement for the security of the Western Hemisphere. I attended the San Francisco Conference where the United Nations was born.

Now the administration, with the prodding from the Senate, is to extend the meaning of the phrase "regional agreement" to cross the Atlantic Ocean and bring Europe and the United States into the same region. This is factually untrue.

The effect will be to make the Rhine the frontier of the United States. Once, years ago, before the United States entered the Second World War, the late President Roosevelt was quoted as having told a congressional delegation that "America's frontier is on the Rhine." The late President indignantly denied having said it and indignantly denied that it was a fact. Now the Senate is asked to vote it to be a fact. The Senate may be unaware of this.

Mr. President, I believe that the American people have no conception of the tremendous potentialities of this resolution. The late President Roosevelt told the American people in his famous Boston speech in 1940 that he would not send "your American boys to fight in a foreign war."

Now the Senate is asked to implore the administration to enter agreements that will guarantee that American boys must fight in future foreign wars. These agreements call for American boys to fight in future foreign wars. These wars may be started by some act of the government of Luxembourg or on the single voice of a Socialist Prime Minister of Great Britain.

Mr. President, when a treaty is made by the executive department and ratified by the Senate of the United States in the regular manner—then this nation will follow through—but the Senate and the American people are entitled to thoroughly understand each and every agreement to which they subscribe.

I think we must guard doubly against the chance of starting a war, since only yesterday the Senate passed a draft bill which will be very drastic and will bring to the military service most of the able-bodied young men of this country. We must be very sure, after passing such legislation, that those young men are properly safeguarded and not sent into a useless war upon the whim of a foreign nation without proper foundation.

I am not opposing such treaties, but I am calling the attention of this body to the fact that it should ratify such treaties only after full debate and understanding.

FOREIGN WARS

There is a grave constitutional question at issue in the consideration of this resolution. It is whether the President and the Senate have the constitutional power to carry the United States into a military pact that calls on the United States to enter a foreign war without Congress actually passing a resolution of war. Under the language of the United Nations Charter, each member of a regional agreement must go to the defense of any other member attacked by an aggressor. Thus, with the United States in such an agreement, the President might well order the Army, Navy, and Air Force into action instantly upon an appeal for help from a fellow-signatory who might declare he was being attacked by an aggressor. Congress then would be faced with a *fait accompli* with the armed forces of the United States actually at war without Congress having passed a resolution of war. . . . .

I understand the argument of the proponents of the resolution, that there is nothing in the resolution which will prevent it coming back to the Senate for full debate in connection with any treaty of any kind the State Department or the President may make. But I submit, Mr. President, that it is a dangerous precedent, and, as I have said, appropriations for foreign countries have advanced to almost unheard of amounts. Then the United States Senate voluntarily relinquished their constitutional responsibility of approving trade treaties. It is dangerous to advance step by step and finally obligate this body to do something about which the members have no details in advance. . . . .

Mr. CONNALLY, Democrat, Texas. Mr.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

President, the resolution which is before the Senate today, stripped down to its bare bones, is largely a restatement of the United States on becoming a member of the United Nations, and an expression of hope that we may be able to achieve other improvements in the structure of the organization and in its work.

In the beginning, of course, the resolution expresses the attitude of the United States toward the fundamental freedoms and international cooperation through the United Nations. Then, recognizing the paramount authority of the President of the United States in regard to international relations, the resolving section not only reaffirms the policy of the United States to achieve international peace so that armed force shall not be used except in the interest of all the nations, but we advise the President of the United States. We do not undertake to instruct him. We do not undertake to make this resolution a statute for the conduct of the United Nations or the peoples of the world; but we advise the President of the United States that the people of the United States should particularly pursue the objectives within the United Nations Charter which are named in the remaining portion of the resolution.

Mr. TOBEY, Republican, New Hampshire. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. CONNALLY. I yield.

ADVICE UNHEEDED?

Mr. TOBEY. Is it not probably a patent fact that, in view of recent utterances by the President of the United States with reference to the present Congress, any advice or counsel we might give him would fall upon deaf ears?

Mr. CONNALLY. I do not believe that. I do not believe that any President of the United States—certainly none within my knowledge or recollection—is or has been indifferent to the views of the Congress or of the people.

Mr. HATCH, Democrat, New Mexico. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. CONNALLY. I yield.

Mr. HATCH. Even if what the Senator from New Hampshire said were true—and with that I cannot agree—would that in any sense relieve Senators from their constitutional duty to advise the President on such subjects as are properly within their duty?

Mr. CONNALLY. I thank the Senator from New Mexico for his very wise and valid suggestion. In fact, it would not only not relieve us, but would put a compelling pressure upon us to exercise our function of advice to the President. If he errs, we should undertake to bring him back to the paths of rectitude which we so consistently pursue.

Mr. TOBEY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. CONNALLY. I yield.

Mr. TOBEY. I appreciate the fine Christian attitude of the distinguished Senator from Texas; but let me point out, and hang in the sky above the Senate, the admonition that in view of the statement that this is the worst Congress ever in the history of the United States, any counsel or advice we might give to the present President of the United States would be discounted probably 100 per cent.

Mr. CONNALLY. I think the Senator from New Hampshire is somewhat superheated over that little political statement. I do not believe that any President of the United States is wholly indifferent to the views and sentiments of the Congress of the United States, especially if he believes that the views of the Congress are supported by the views of the people of the United States. Perhaps the President is wrong. Aside from anything he does, regardless of whether he is wrong or not, that does not relieve the Senate of its function and responsibility to perform its duties, irrespective of what the President may think or say. . . . .

I wish to stress the words "as are appropriate for regional action." I do not wish to see regional groups formed which may weaken the parent body, the United Nations. But if there are matters which are local, which are peculiar to the particular region, there is no reason why the nations in that region should not form a regional arrangement, because in a sense the overriding authority is still there, and it would probably have the right to determine whether or not the action proposed was appropriate for regional action. Furthermore, it is provided that such arrangements or agencies and their activities must be consistent with the purposes and principles of the United Nations.

If kept within those bounds, regional ar-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

rangements could perform a very useful function. As I suggested a moment ago, I would not want to encourage the formation of regional organizations which might weaken or sap the energies of the United Nations itself, because our objective in establishing the United Nations was to establish a strong, purposeful, and wise central body to preserve the peace of the world. . . . .

So, Mr. President, I commend the resolution to the attention of the Senate. It comes with the unanimous support of the Committee on Foreign Relations. It comes with the approval of the Department of State after months of study and research. It comes with the approval of those who have been intimately connected with the development of the United Nations Organization since the gathering at San Francisco of many nations brought into being. It comes with the approval of those who have followed and directed and aided in promoting the objectives of the United Nations to achieve the noble end which it has had in mind and upon which it is founded.

Mr. President, the resolution serves as a restatement, a reproclamation of the attitude of the Senate and of the government of the United States toward the United Nations and toward the accomplishment of the splendid objectives of that organization. I hope the resolution will be adopted by a practically unanimous vote of the Senate, so that our representatives may feel that they have the support, the aid, and the inspiration of the Senate of the United States and of the people of the United States. . . . .

UNDERMINING THE U. N.

Mr. PEPPER. One of the principal causes of the failure of the League of Nations was the fact that the authority, the prestige, and the power of that organization were undermined and destroyed by various collateral agreements, pacts, and understandings which were entered into by the member states. There was the Locarno Compact, and various other compacts, entered into by states outside the League of Nations organization, attempting to preserve peace by alliances rather than by collective security, thus undermining the foundations of the League of Nations.

Mr. President, the same kind of action would undermine the foundations of the United Nations. I believe, therefore, that when we see that such action is a threat to the success of the organization, we should not encourage by our advice or recommend a process that will inevitably have that effect. . . . .

Mr. President, my opinion is that time and faithful adherence by its loyal members are the best friends, the best architects, the United Nations has. Therefore, I believe that whatever is a by-passing of the United Nations, whatever threatens to undermine its power or prestige, or authority, is a step backward, not forward, and that we would better support the organization we have, and let time and momentum sustain and succor its strength, rather than try to break it apart upon the rocks of perfection at the present time. . . . .

Mr. President, I call attention to these words:

> It is to be noted, however, that whereas the Act of Chapultepec refers both to acts of aggression and to threats of aggression, the provisions of article 51 are more restricted, applying only to an armed attack.

Mr. President, it also is very apparent that it was never intended that article 51 should justify states in getting together and forming a military alliance, entering into a general agreement about concerted action in the common interest or against the common enemy, and to standardize the military equipment and provide for joint supply of their armed forces, or that one of the nations should assume the responsibility of doing it. It was never intended in the conception of the United Nations, in my opinion, that such an instrument as the Act of Chapultepec should ever take place. Distinctly article 51 is limited in the permission it gives for the formation of regional agreements to regional combinations to resist an armed attack, yet the Act of Chapultepec goes far beyond that. Yet I pointed out here that the Chapultepec Act is an act under which these Western Hemisphere states have gotten together not only to combine against an armed attack, but also against aggression and to threats of aggression as well—language outside the permissive scope of article 51 of the Charter.

The second thing is, Mr. President, as I said a moment ago, that article 51, when one

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

reads it, and as the able chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, as I understood, conceded this morning, was intended to give authority for something like a spontaneous and instantaneous resistance to an armed attack on the part of an individual state or of collective states which had a common interest in the security of the victim. The language is:

> Nothing in the present Charter shall impair the inherent right of individual or collective self-defense if an armed attack occurs against a member of the United Nations—

Now how long do they have the right to maintain this *suo sponti* initiative in resisting such attack? Here it is—

> until the Security Council has taken the measures necessary to maintain international peace and security.

It is not something which is intended to be made a permanent affair, as when it has long been anticipated in advance that there might be an armed attack and there is set up an elaborate scheme and plans for resisting it. This was something that might be necessary on the spur of the moment, as it were, where the attack might demand the necessity for the victim and those interested to mobilize and resist assault until the Security Council, by collective measures, could come to the aid of the victim. . . . .

Mr. President, ever since the United Nations was established, nearly every act to bypass that organization has been referred to as a pillar of its strength and support. I realize the problems we have had to encounter, and I am sympathetic as to them; but some time there must come an end to the decentralization and the wreckage of the United Nations organization. There must come a time when we resolve, as Abraham Lincoln did, that we shall stand by the Union and shall not set up some other kind of organization to accomplish the purpose that as is contemplated by the pending resolution.

Therefore, it is very clear, from the history of the resolution before us today and from the statements of numerous authorities of the highest import and character, that this resolution is the summation of a plan that has been carefully produced to prepare the Congress and the country eventually for a military alliance between the United States and western Europe. That is essentially what is involved here. This resolution is another step in that inevitable direction. . . . .

Mr. President, paragraph 3 says:

> Association of the United States, by constitutional process, with such regional and other collective arrangements as are based on continuous and effective self-help and mutual aid, and as affect its national security.

That is very nearly the same as what General Marshall said at Harvard, Mr. President, on June 5, 1948. It would give the countries of western Europe at least an encouraging suggestion that, if they will get together and form an effective and cooperative military alliance and call upon us to support them, we will do it. If the question were presented to us, they would have this resolution, if it is adopted, to encourage them to believe that we would follow through on the military commitment as we have upon the economic commitment. I yield to the Senator from Nevada.

MILITARY ALLIANCES

Mr. MALONE. Mr. President, am I to understand the distinguished Senator from Florida to say positively that that is what the resolution does, that it assures them that after they make such a military alliance among themselves, we positively will help them through an alliance with this country?

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. President, a man would be blind and ignorant had he not received that impression from all that has been in the press, from all that has been said by outstanding leaders in this country. What else is intended? What are we talking about today, except a military organization, a combination of the nations of western Europe? We have one in the Western Hemisphere. We are not trying to encourage one over here. We are not trying to encourage Russia and the countries in her sphere to set one up, are we? Of whom are we speaking, if not western Europe? Is it not designed to prepare the Congress and the country to follow through with our commitment to go to their help if attacked?

I want to be fair with the able Senator from Michigan, than whom I esteem none more

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

highly. The resolution, in paragraph 3, does contain a qualification, "Association of the United States, by constitutional process." I do not mean to be understood to say that adoption of the resolution automatically commits us. The Senate at least would have to pass upon the commitment the way we approved E.R.P. But, Mr. President, after Secretary Marshall had spoken at Harvard, after the President of the United States had spoken to the world, after the State Department had no doubt been in contact with Europe, the matter was laid in our lap. We had to go through with that or repudiate, as it were, what had already been indicated to be the policy of the government of the United States. I am saying, let us adopt the resolution in such form that western Europe and the world will take notice we do not intend it to mean an encouragement to western Europe that we will support them with a military alliance.

Mr. MALONE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield.

Mr. PEPPER. I yield.

Mr. MALONE. I am not questioning what the Senator meant. I just wanted to be sure, because we were assured so many times this morning that there was no moral commitment, there was nothing about any commitment whatever, the sponsor said—it was simply urgent advice to the President of the United States.

Mr. PEPPER. Then why should we adopt the resolution? What is it for? . . . .

Mr. President, it seems to me that the United States of America might not wish to encourage too much the establishment of a second regional system in another part of the world. I speak today as an American. What assurance have we, if we build up three great systems of regional power in the world, that we can preserve the peace? Over there is the western European group; over there is the Soviet group; and we are in the middle. The western European group may say, "At one time we will play with the American group, and at another time with the Soviet group." Either group could do the same thing with respect to the other two. I am not willing to predicate the peace of the world upon three great regional systems of military combinations. That is contrary to the principle of collective security, which was the basis upon which the United Nations was founded. . . . .

Mr. GEORGE, Democrat, Georgia. I realized then, and I realize now, that when we call upon the President of the United States to do certain things, that is, to enter into negotiations with other member states in the United Nations, and urge that he should particularly pursue certain objectives which follow in the resolution, we do assume a moral responsibility. It is undertaking a high obligation and a high responsibility to treat whatever the President may be able to accomplish in response to our resolution with the consideration which it deserves. At the same time, I felt satisfied with the absolute assurance written into the resolution itself that the final approval with respect to any association or any regional organization, or other collective arrangement, should be for the Congress, with a definite statement in the report of the committee that we would have the reserved right to examine the association which we were asked to make.

SECURING OUR INTERESTS

Not only that, but as I read the resolution then and as I read it now, it does not necessarily mean that we are called upon to make a military alliance with the western European nations, or any other group of nations, outside the arrangements which we have already made in this hemisphere. The language is "association of the United States with such regional or other collective arrangement," based upon certain considerations which seem to safeguard and secure our interests.

I do not think it necessarily means that any President of the United States will, in response to this resolution, ask that the United States enter into a military alliance with western European nations or any other group of nations. It might be that we would associate ourselves with a regional organization of nations in western Europe, as we have done in the recovery program. It might mean that we would associate ourselves with such organization looking to the defense of the States in that organization. We might do that by extending aid. We might do it by furnishing certain things which they would be required to have in order to accomplish that feeling of security which would enable them to make the progress

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

which we hope they will make in the recovery program which we are undertaking to aid.

At the same time, Mr. President, I was unwilling, and would now be unwilling, to vote for the resolution without the explicit, definite statement on the very face of the resolution, that it must come back to Congress for its approval and with a report which would explicitly declare that we might examine whatever was submitted to the Congress without embarrassment, and free to examine it, free to consider it.

I realize that we are not here using language in a vacuum merely for the sake of high-sounding and reassuring language. We expect the President to do something. . . . .

We have given support to Europe in two great conflicts. We have given military support to Europe heretofore. It is not something new. If at this particular time in the history of the world it should become evident that a military aggressor was about to take over western Europe, we certainly could not stand idly by. With the assurance that here in the resolution itself we, the Congress, reserved the final right to say what kind of association we would undertake, and what our obligations thereunder would be; with the explicit statement that when the time comes, we would reexamine the whole question to determine whether or not in our own economic condition we could undertake, and to what extent we could undertake, assistance to any group of nations in western Europe—feeling that way about it, I felt that the resolution was proper, and was entitled to my support. For that reason, Mr. President, I did support it.

I have no doubt that much of what the Senator from Florida said is true, and that the giving of military aid and assistance to the western European nations has been talked of in many places. I have no doubt of that. I was particularly anxious myself that we should not undertake a lend-lease program until the Congress had an opportunity to take a look at it, or that we should not enter into any military alliance of any kind, character, or description, without a right of Congress to take a look at it; but, indeed, I thought that under the terms of the resolution we would stand upon very firm ground. I have no doubt that any President of the United States before asking the Congress to associate ourselves with a group of western European countries would certainly take due consideration of all of the grounds upon which he based his request. . . . .

Mr. BREWSTER. It is a rather interesting commentary on the line of thought of the Senator from Michigan that not so long ago there should have been such ready acceptance of the idea of a Pan-American compact and a doubt about the geographical association of western Europe, which is approximately 3,000 miles nearer to us than are the southern countries of South America. So far as communications are concerned, it is very much easier to go to Europe than it is to go to South America. I think there is a failure to comprehend the revolution of the air age. Certainly, as the Senator points out, from the standpoint of our interests, if there is any justification for our fears, they are far greater with respect to danger from the east than from the south. So without expressing any opinion as to the wisdom of an ultimate regional compact of this character, I believe that so far as geographical or contact considerations are concerned, there is ample warrant for considering it. Obviously, a revolution has been wrought in this air age. . . . .

AID TO EUROPE

Mr. GEORGE. I wish to make one further observation. I am not so sure that we shall advance the cause of peace by the development of regional arrangements. The development of regional organizations which have any other purpose than a purely defensive one against an aggressor to the members of such organizations would certainly tend very strongly to weaken the United Nations organization, and would certainly tend in time to the development of the balance-of-power theory between the organized regions.

At the same time, Mr. President, it is my feeling that at this juncture of world affairs, and in view of our effort to get Europe back on its feet and strengthen its economy, we would, if it became necessary, be willing to consider what aid we could properly give to the western European countries. That being true, it seems to me that the Congress is well within its rights and is taking a step which may properly promote our final and main

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

objective by asking the President to look into this subject and see how far and to what extent western European nations may become associated. Whether we wish to do so or not, we must give some assurance that in the event of a great crisis arising again in the world, we shall not ourselves be able to escape responsibility for aiding the remaining free peoples of the earth, on whom we can depend with some degree of certainty, so that we may finally have some friends on whom we can rely. . . . .

Mr. HATCH. Mr. President, as a member of the committee, I voted for this resolution in the committee. Nothing that I shall say today will change in any degree my resolution and intention to support the resolution.

However, I listened with a great deal of interest to the remarks made by the Senator from Florida and the interpretation he placed upon this resolution when he pointed out that certain paragraphs of it could well be interpreted— and as he did so interpret them—as providing for the creation of military alliances and the setting up in the world of the old balance-of-power theory.

I realize that to a large extent the interpretations placed by the Senator from Florida upon the resolution and its possibilities are well founded, if one would so interpret the resolution. If this resolution had within itself the effect of creating military alliances between the United States and the countries of western Europe, I could not vote for the resolution. . . . .

But it is true, Mr. President—and I would not deceive the Senate or the country—that under the terms of the resolution—and so far as I am concerned, it is so intended—the President of the United States is authorized to negotiate for regional arrangements with countries which are cooperating with us, and where the principle of mutual self-help prevails. I say frankly that it would be possible for the President to negotiate arrangements which would call for military assistance to those nations. I would be unfair to the Senate and I would be unfair to the country if I said otherwise, because it is true—and so far as I am concerned, it was intended to be true; for, unfortunately, in view of the disturbed and disordered conditions in the world today, it may well be that it will be necessary to enter into, with the free nations of the world that are fighting to preserve their freedom, an association and agreement by which we shall have to render them military assistance and aid.

Mr. CONNALLY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. HATCH. I yield.

Mr. CONNALLY. Is it not true that twice within the present generation we did that very thing—in the case of World War I and in the case of World War II—without any resolution or anything else of the sort; we did it on our own.

INEVITABLE ASSISTANCE

Mr. HATCH. Not only is the Senator from Texas absolutely correct as to past history, but he might as well have looked into the future and have said that if the same conditions arise again, if the integrity of the free nations of Europe is attacked by military might and strength, regardless of what we say today here on the floor of the Senate, again America will be forced to go into battle, and military assistance will be rendered. I make that prediction as to the future.

Mr. MALONE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. HATCH. I yield.

Mr. MALONE. I am very happy that the Senator from New Mexico is also making his position very clear. I have no argument with any Senator who makes his position entirely clear on this matter. The question I have raised was whether it would be good policy to adopt this resolution, knowing that there is such a moral obligation to follow through and to approve any treaty that might be returned to us by the President or the State Department along the lines that are authorized in the resolution.

Mr. HATCH. Mr. President, I do not want the Senator to put into my mouth words I have not said.

Mr. MALONE. If I have misunderstood the Senator, I am very sorry. But I understood the Senator to say that when we adopt this resolution, we shall be directing and, in effect, authorizing the President and the State Department to make treaties along this line; and

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

that after they are made, if they are in conformity with the resolution and with the direction of the resolution, then there will be some moral responsibility to ratify them.

Mr. HATCH. No; I have not said that. I have said that under this resolution we are advising the executive branch of the government to enter into negotiations looking toward association with those nations of the Old World which have "such regional and other collective arrangements as are based on continuous and effective self-help and mutual aid and as affect its national security."

That is the language of the resolution, and under that language I said—and I do not wish to be misunderstood—that a reasonable arrangement could be entered into by which we would authorize the giving of military assistance. I said that arrangement could be entered into by the executive branch of government. I did not say there would be a moral obligation upon the Congress of the United States to ratify and confirm such an arrangement. There is a vast difference. I said I did not want the Senator from Nevada to put words into my mouth. I do not think there would be any moral obligation upon the Congress of the United States. It has been made as clear on the floor of the Senate as it is possible to make it. The chairman of the committee repeatedly said any arrangement must come to the Senate for approval and ratification. When it comes back as required by the Constitution, by the debate and by the understanding, it comes back for our consideration and final action on ratification. That involves not only the right but the solemn moral obligation of considering the arrangement to determine whether it is in accordance with what is best for our country. I want to state that so clearly that no nation in the whole world can misunderstand.

Mr. MALONE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. HATCH. I yield.

Mr. MALONE. I did not misunderstand the Senator, but, should I make myself a little clearer, the purpose of the resolution is to encourage treaties.

Mr. HATCH. That is correct.

Mr. MALONE. After we do encourage the treaties—and we have already, of course, through ratification of the United Nations Charter, made our policy very clear—now, to go further than that and to request that additional treaties be made, and outline approximately the trend they should take, then does the Senator agree with me that it establishes a basis for reasonable expectancy on the part of the President, the State Department, and the foreign nations that we will ratify such treaty? Senators may not like the treaties as presented, but the tons of propaganda go over the nation that the Senate has already directed or requested that such treaties be made, so the public is led to believe that we have in effect rejected our own proposal, although it may be radically different from what the Senate had in mind. It establishes the basis for such talk, and it sells the people of the United States on something that the Senate may never have believed in the first instance. Nevertheless, it would be several months before the public learned the true facts, if, in fact, they ever did know what happened.

Mr. HATCH. Mr. President, of course any person may take any basis for an argument he pleases, but I may say this with appropriate modesty, in view of the fact that I shall retire from the Senate and will not be here after this session ends, that I believe when the Senate is confronted with a treaty it will consider first of all the welfare of the country, and will not base its decision in any way upon propaganda. I have that faith, not only in the Senate, but in our democratic process of government. I am perfectly willing to leave it to future Congresses to meet questions as they arise. . . . .

STABILITY

Mr. BREWSTER. I appreciate what the Senator says. It has always been to me an interesting historical fact that most of us were born in a century that knew no world-wide war. From 1815, when Napoleon yielded, to 1914, when the Kaiser challenged the British sea power, we had no world-wide war such as we have now witnessed twice. During that period Britain was dominant and so exercised her sea power as to preserve a period of comparative peace. I think that is a very valuable lesson, as I believe that America similarly, in this era, with proper preparation, might contribute to the preservation of peace in spite of

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

inadequate armament with which we are all concerned. . . . .

May I add that it was during that century when Britain was dominant, not only in the military and naval sense, but also in the economic sense, that civilization made more progress than it had made in the previous 10 centuries? As to what lessons should be drawn from that, of course men might differ. I feel that, similarly, America can make as great a contribution if we wisely and prudently exercise the power which we so obviously possess. . . . .

Mr. HATCH. My vote on this resolution in the committee and on the floor is not based on any fear of Russia, and it is not directed against Russia by any means. I understand, however, how countries in Europe which have been attacked, whose soil has run red with the blood of their citizens, not once but many times, can well fear attack. I can understand how some of those nations hesitated, as they did hesitate, to join us in cooperative measures such as the European recovery plan, lest they incur danger of attack upon them.

I can well understand how little Czechoslovakia, acting under orders, did not join the 16 nations, although she wanted to do so, trying to cooperate and preserve her own independence, all of which was of no avail. If I lived in those countries I would be afraid, and I would not hesitate to announce my fear, because past experience would have taught me.

I certainly do not stand on the floor of the Senate today, in the safety and security of our own land, which has never been overrun, and say, "There is no danger. We have nothing to fear." When my friends are in danger, when the institutions of their governments are in danger, when the rights of individual citizens are denied and they become enslaved by tyrannical power, I fear for my own country, and if adopting this resolution will give to those countries some of the courage which they need to fortify them to stand together, to maintain their own freedom and their own integrity and their independence, I am glad to vote for it, and I shall vote for it on that ground and for that reason, and I so voted in the committee.

Faith will never die as long as colored seed catalogues are printed.
—*Trainman News*

In the footprints of the sands of time some people leave only the marks of a heel.
—*Quote*

When telling a joke, always make it as short as possible, because if you stretch it out, you give the listener time to think of one to tell you. —*Toastmaster*

The patient was lying on the stretcher, waiting to be pushed into the operating room. "I'm so nervous," he remarked to a sympathetic young nurse standing by. "This is my first operation."

"So am I," said the young lady. "My husband is the doctor and it is his first, too." —*Omaha World-Herald*

One night soon after Tommy entered the first grade, his father came home to find his little son bursting with pride.

"I'm a leader now, Daddy," he announced.

Daddy, trying to keep the pride out of his voice, replied: "Is that so, son? What do you lead?"

"The lines to the washroom," said the proud youngster.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED